

Gifford—Tongan Society

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recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 643
94. 344). 595 593

The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer 643
who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would 493
stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given 61
the land around which he ran without a spell. (425)

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not 643
be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his 425
retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from 643
the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated 466
stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The 349
blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weigh- 764
ing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks
must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga
upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they
reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at
a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed be-
fore half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and
dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to
the two little brooks which are called Pekitan and Malifu and drank all the water
which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another
brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at
Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double
vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the begin-
ning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great
lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near
the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work,
it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor
of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of
one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of [712]
centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafulauta as a rest 643
mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a 349
mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by
shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose 643
her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were 644
responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's 687
discretion.

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takaiaua, developed his own kava circle (fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which thus developed were called metaphorically *Kauhalauta* (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and *Kauhalalalo* (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Mounगतonga, the *Kauhalauta* procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his *matapules*. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "*Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou*" (Take it to Taliai Tupou). As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the *Kauhalauta* procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Mohefo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a *matapule* to the Tui Tonga.

If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is diluted."

The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing."

Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted."

The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a *matapule* who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.

The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava ceremony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people.

This prayer may also be uttered:

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lower orders (the tooas), in which case they admonish them, and if they pay no attention, they report them to the older chiefs, and advise that something should be done to remedy such evils. They are very much respected by all classes. Tooas are the lowest order of all, or the bulk of the people. They are all, by birth, *ky sonnoas* or peasants; but some of them are employed occasionally in the various occupations of performing the tattow, cooking, club-carving, and shaving, according to their abilities in these respective arts, and meet with encouragement by presents. Those tooas that are evidently related to mooas, and consequently have a chance of becoming mooas, are respected by those who can trace no such relationship.

PROFESSIONAL CLASS OF SOCIETY.—We now come to speak of those who draw respect rather than rank according to their usefulness in different arts and manufactures, more or less regarded. Some of these, as we have before seen, are matabooles, and rank accordingly; the greater part of them are mooas, and the remainder of course tooas.

Among those that practise the arts there are many that do it because their fathers did the same before them, and consequently have brought them up to it, and these are for the most part such as practise arts that are considered

555 ingenious, and therefore respectable; and hence
461 they have no motive sufficiently strong (unless
[431] it be sometimes laziness) to engage them to
relinquish it, particularly as they obtain pre-
sents from their chiefs for their ingenuity.
There is no positive law to oblige them to fol-
low the business of their fathers, nor any motive
but the honourable estimation in which their
arts are held, or their own interest, or the com-
mon custom.

555 None of them are matabooles but a few of
461 the canoe builders and the superintendants of
565 funeral rites, perhaps about a fifth or a sixth
396 part of them, and some of these are very ex-
767 pert in cutting ornaments out of whales teeth
[306] for necklaces, or for inlaying clubs, likewise in
[719] making clubs and spears, and other warlike in-
struments, which are not separate professions,
but arts practised by the canoe builders as being
expert in the use of the *togi* or axe; at least
there are no *toofoonga fono le* (inlayers of ivory),
nor *toofoonga gnahi mea tow* (makers of warlike
instruments); but who are also canoe builders.
All the *toofoonga fo vaca* (canoe builders), and
toofoonga tabco (intendants of funeral rites),
that are not matabooles are *mooas*, for no person
of so low a rank as a *tooa* can practise such
respectable arts.

000 The remaining professions are followed both

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The remaining professions are followed both by *moos* and *toos*, with the exception of the three following, viz. *toosoonga fy cava* (barbers or shavers with shells), *tangata fe oomoo* (cooks), and *ky-fonnooa* (peasants), all of whom are *toos*.

Of the different professions, some are hereditary in the way before mentioned, and some are not; the latter consist of *toosoonga ta tattow* (those who perform the tattow), *toosoonga tongi acow* (club carvers, or engravers of the handle, not inlayers); and *toosoonga fy cava* (barbers). The arts followed by these are not hereditary, for they are not of that respectability to engage a man to follow any of them because his father did the same: they are practised by any one who has a natural turn that way.

But the two lowest of all, viz. the cooks and peasants, are such by inheritance, for in whose service they may be necessarily require their services, and their children naturally succeed them, for neither of these arts require any great talent to learn; every body knows how to cook and till the ground in a tolerable degree; but those who are born to no better fate have no alternative left them, they must follow these necessary employments as the business of their life, if their chiefs command them; and to such alone the terms cook and peasants are here applied. The cook is some-

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555 what the superior; he sees to the supplying of
 461 provisions, takes care of the store-house, looks
 565 to the thatching and fences of the dwelling-
 252 house, occasionally gives an eye to the planta-
 241 tion, and sometimes works upon it himself. The
 351 head cook is generally not a little proud of
 himself, and is looked on with some respect by
 the cooks below him and the common peasants.

The term cook is frequently applied to a man though he be not a cook, to signify that he is of very low rank: for although a cook belonging to a chief may give himself many airs, and be thought something of by the common tooas about him; yet if there be a company of peasants together, he that has the least to boast of in respect of family connexions is sure to be made the cook, and as it were servant to the rest.

555 The following then will be the order in which
 461 the different professions will stand as to the re-
 565 spect they may command in society:—all individuals are not, however, esteemed according to their profession, but according to their abilities in it; for a clever man in one art will be sometimes more esteemed than a man of moderate abilities in a higher. In this arrangement the cooks are placed before the peasants, because the cooks of chiefs generally have to overlook them.

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Hereditary.	{	<i>Toofuonga fa vāca</i> ; canoe-builders.	Followed both by <i>matabooles</i> and <i>mooas</i> .	555
		<i>Toofuonga funo le</i> ; cutters of whale-teeth ornaments.		461
		<i>Toofuonga taboo</i> ; superintendants of funeral rites.		565
		<i>Toofuonga ta maca</i> ; stone-masons, or makers of stone vaults.		396
		<i>Toofuonga jia cobenga</i> ; net-makers.		306
	{	<i>Toofuonga toty ica</i> ; fishermen.	Followed both by <i>mooas</i> and <i>tuos</i> .	767
		<i>Toofuonga langafalle</i> ; large house-builders.		324
		<i>Toofuonga ta tattoo</i> ; those who perform the tattoo.		286
Hereditary or not.	{	<i>Toofuonga tongi acow</i> ; club-carvers.		226
		<i>Toofuonga fy cara</i> ; barbers or shavers with shells.		331
Hereditary.	{	<i>Tangata fe oomoo</i> ; cooks.	Followed only by <i>tuos</i> .	305
		<i>Kyfonuoa</i> ; peasants.		322
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Property in these islands, as may easily be conjectured, consists principally in plantations, houses, and canoes, and the right of succession to it is regulated by the order of relationship, as given under the head of Nobles, p. 83, so in like manner is the right of succession to the throne.

Having now given a view of the rank of individuals in society, with reference to religion, civil government, and professional occupations; we have now to consider it in respect to old age, sex, and childhood.

Old persons of both sexes are highly revere-888

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circle before the grave, with their heads bowed⁶⁵¹
 down, and their hands clasped before them.⁷⁹⁶
 The procession now approaches: two boys,⁷⁸⁸
 walking abreast of each other, precede it at a⁷⁶⁹
 little distance, blowing conchs; then come the
 men, bearing the yams, about seventy or eighty
 in number, i. e. about a hundred and sixty men
 in a single line, as close to each other as the
 length of the pole will allow; after them comes
 a single line of men, about forty in number,
 singing aloud, as before stated, *nofo ʻooa* *, &c.;
 these are followed up by two other boys blowing
 conchs: they proceed between the grave and
 the chiefs, describing there a large circle two or
 three times, the conchs blowing and the men
 singing: the yams are then deposited, one after
 the other (still on the poles), before the grave,
 and the men sit down by the side of them, so
 that the chiefs and matabooles are in the rear:
 one of the matabooles of Tooitonga now rises,
 advances, and again seats himself before the
 grave, a little in advance of the men. Here he
 addresses the gods generally, and afterwards
 particularly, mentioning the late Tooitonga,
 and the names of several others. He returns

* Not only no work may be done at the time of the [40] 
indchi, but nobody may appear abroad, unless for the pur-
 poses of the ceremony.

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tipped with the bone of the sting ray. (See 719
Vol. I. p. 278.) [297]

CLUBS AND SPEARS. Though the making of these be not a distinct profession, yet they are most commonly manufactured by the *toofoonga fo vaca*, as being expert in the use of the *logi*. Their clubs are of various shapes; but specimens of them, as well as of their spears, may be seen in our museums.

The next arts to be spoken of are those practised by females, not so much as a task or labour, for women of rank often employ themselves this way, but as being their proper occupation. The most important of these is the 462
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FABRICATION OF GNATOO. This substance is somewhat similar to cotton, but not woven, being rather of the texture of paper: it is prepared from the inner bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree, and is used for dress and other purposes. 287

A circular incision being made round the tree near the root, with a shell deep enough to penetrate the bark, the tree is broken off at that part, which its slenderness readily admits of: when a number of them are thus laid on the ground, they are left in the sun a couple of days to become partially dry, so that the inner and outer bark may be stripped off together,

533 rect: another describes the visit of Admiral
 538 d'Entrecasteaux: another the revolution of
 Tonga, and the famous battle that was there
 fought, &c. The song which is given in the
 first volume, p. 293, belongs to this class of
 musical composition. Some of these songs have
 neither regular measure nor rhyme, but others
 have both.

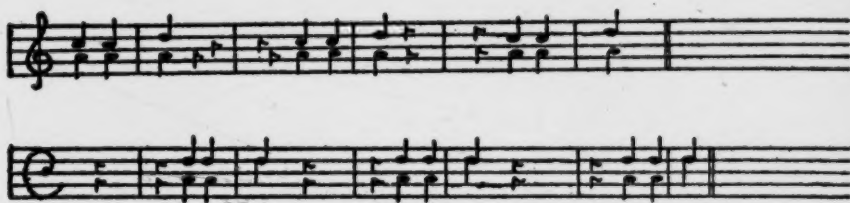
Obbe; this kind of singing is always accom-
 533 panied with the *fāngo-fāngo*, (or nose-flute):
 the subjects of the song are much the same as
 those last described, but the style of music is
 different, being more monotonous and grave.
 It is now very seldom sung.

Tow ūlo, is never accompanied with instru-
 461 mental music; they are mostly short songs,
 502 sung in canoes when paddling, the strokes of
 the paddle being coincident with the cadence
 of the tune. They are very frequently sung
 on leaving Vavaoo, whilst paddling out of the
 533 inlet. It may not be unacceptable to give the
 539 following as an example: it is a very usual one,
 and expresses regret at leaving Vavaoo and its
 beautiful prospects, famous for the manufacture
 of superior *toogi hea*, (gnatoo stained with the
hea,) to go to the islands of Toofooa and Kao,
 noted for making coarse mats.

Oiáooé! goáa mów téoo felów,
 Ca toógoo Móoonga-láfa, béa mo Talów:

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Chanty No. 31 is used by sailors in making sail, and in general by men hauling on a heavy load. The first and third lines are sung by the leader, and the second and fourth are the response by the body of the men.



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Fai la, fai la, tu,
O-a.
I-o-i-a e
E

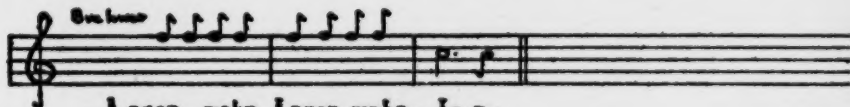
Make sail, make sail, tu,
O-a.
I-o-i-a e,
E.

[764]

Chanty No. 32, sung to the same tune as No. 31, was used especially in raising and lowering the stone covering of a burial vault. Chanties were sung during such tasks even at the tomb of Tui Tonga.

32

Langa maka, langa maka (sung by leader) Raise stone, raise stone,
I-a (response by men). I-a.



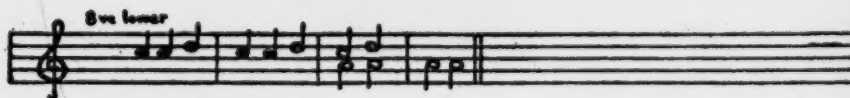
Langa maka Langa maka, I-a.
(Leader) (Response)

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Chanty No. 33 is used in hauling heavy weights.

33

Amatu e, a mai e,
To-ho, i-o." (These two lines sung by leader.)
Io. (Response by men.)



34

Lau ki Tave mo Mata-lave,
Mo'unga moe Kolo-utu-kape.

Tell of Tave and Matalave,
Mountain and Koloutukape.

533 8. The text implies, "People on this side and on that boast of what they can do,
539 but one is as little able as another to give effect to his vaunt. No improvement in
spite of all the talk."

9. The reference in these lines is not clear. There was a temple at Ahau, in eastern Tongatabu, and possibly the couplet celebrates the numbers of people who used to resort thither. I have never heard of women disappointed in their hopes of motherhood seeking the aid of the gods.

[824] 10. The *tua* is one sort of fine yam. The verse is applied in several ways. It
[461] is used as an admonition to the old and feeble that their active working days are over and that now cooking a little food is all the labor they are fit for. It is used as a reproach to the young and idle; that they come and work that they may eat, only old folk sitting quietly at home. It is also a reprimand to presumptuous inexperience, "If you would have these fine yams to cook and eat you must have the skill in gardening that years of experience give."

11. Plaint of the "willing horse," getting all the burdens and none of the appreciation.

[103] 12. Meilongopee (Breadfruit almost falling through overripeness) is the name of a rock near the entrance to the anchorage of the main village, also named Haano, on this island. Another prominent rock in the same anchorage is called Fелеunga.

13. A plaint against the sea and its moods.

[103] 14. Telekitonga; the southernmost islet of the lonely group Otu Tolu at the southern extremity of Haapai. The northernmost of these islets is called Telekivavau.

[821] 15. Hina, the moon.

16. Toloa (Wild Duck) the constellation of the Southern Cross.

[821] 17. Muiotoa; a cape in the island of Haano, Haapai, at the farther extremity
[103] of that island from Foa; also an island in Haapai. The chant is composed from the point of view of one living in an island south from both of these, probably Lifuka, the political head of the Haapai group. The sarcasm is at the expense of one who can not get to the near island of Foa, but aspires to reach Muiotoa, at the far end of a more distant island. It is intended as serviceable advice to those whose schemes and aspirations are constantly overlooking the fulfillment of the duty next at hand.

[483] 18. This verse was chanted as the presentations of food were being dragged on
[651] to the *malae* at the ceremony of Inasi. (See 28. vol. 2, p. 170.)

19. Kalau is an islet off Eua. At one time, tradition has it, it was farther from Eua, but the god Unga (Crab) who is referred to as having left his shell, moved Kalau closer to Eua, and Kiu, Plover, objected to the removal, and flew along early in the morning to stop it.

20. The poem *Taufaahau* is perhaps hardly to be considered as a *tauaalo* (chanty), though part of it may have been so used. It is perhaps only a fragment of a long poem.

[103] 21. Haafeva and Kotu, islands in the western portion of Haapai. Their "island-like pleasantness, or security" may be that they are at a distance from the center of disturbance.

[103] 22. Fanganonu is a beach in Lifuka. The lines are attributed to *Taufaahau*,
533 during his wars before he became Tui Kanokupolu, and supreme head of the entire
539 Tongan group. He was preparing to go to Tonga and Eua to obtain firearms, or
643 cannon, from Kaufana of Eua. Velata, the site of a fortress in Lifuka, Haapai,
664 which may still be seen, was the scene of famous actions in this conflict. The war was already assuming the character of a struggle of the adherents of the older religion and policy against Christianity. In this phase of the struggle, centering in Velata, the heathen party was rallying round the Tui Tonga, who was perhaps present in person. This war is difficult to date; but from the Journal of the Reverend James Watkin (38, pp. 89, 103) it is evident that there were wars and rumors of wars in 1832 and 1833. At the conclusion of hostilities the victorious *Taufaahau* put the vanquished chiefs, possibly including the Tui Tonga, in canoes, and told them not to land again within the Tongan islands; but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungī, took them ashore at Lapaha. Although *Taufaahau* finally overthrew the power of the Tui Tonga, yet he is said to have been punctilious in observing the etiquette proper to him and his chiefs in his intercourse with them. During the fighting in Velata, *Taufaahau* was wounded. It is said that this is the only occasion on which he was wounded in battle. So great an impression has the wounding of this great warrior

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2. **Api faa toe tuu ai ae teve:** In the well-stocked farm still stands the *teve*. 539
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The *teve* (*Amorphophallus*) grows wild in the bush. Its root has an acrid taste, but is nevertheless sometimes eaten in periods of scarcity. The true farmer, however well stocked he is with other food plants, will not neglect this unpalatable shrub which will be a stand-by in case of the failure of his other crops.

3. **Fakamotua ke tao ha tua:** Playing the old man to bake a *tua* (a fine kind of yam).

The *tua*, in addition to being a specially good sort of yam, is also one of the hardest varieties to cultivate, and the man who can grow them well is obviously a real farmer. This phrase is a rebuke for a lazy man. Do you expect that sitting down with folded hands like a decrepit ancient is the way to get these fine yams to bake and eat? [244] [226]

4. **Halabala a maala keli:** Misses of well cultivated garden, that is, a yam garden in which the soil is loosened to a good depth and where fine large pieces of seed yam are used. 539
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In such a plantation there may be some holes which miss, but those which do grow well will have such large roots as to compensate for the failures. Applied especially in such sports as boxing, fishing and the like, to one who may fail often to get his blow home, or to catch any fish, but when he does succeed scores so heavily as to redeem his previous failures. [524] [226]

5. **Holi ke utuutu i he maala utu:** To desire to glean in a plantation that is being harvested.

Ututu is to look for yams in the bush growing wild on the sites of disused gardens. What one finds in this way he is welcome to, but such gleaning must not trespass on gardens which are still being used by their owners. [423]

6. **Huo hoko hoka huo:** Digging together, spades clashing.

If two men are working close together and one strikes his spade against his companion's the accident is likely to prove annoying and lead to a quarrel. The expression, therefore, is an injunction to keep strictly to the line of one's own job without irritating interference with neighboring laborers. 539
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7. **Kaka tuu ofi:** Barren soil near at hand.

An inferior piece of ground conveniently close is more likely to be cultivated than better soil at a distance. The thing of fair quality that is near is better than a superior thing at a distance. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. 539
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539 8. Nae hanga ki fe hoo sipeiti: Where was your spade turned,
461 that is, what has your spade been turned towards?
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This is the usual retort to one who begs that which he should have prepared for himself. It refers primarily to the produce of the garden but is used of wealth generally. The word *sipeiti* is not Tongan, but a corruption of the English "spade." Whether, before contact with Europeans, there was a similar expression with the real Tongan word for a spade or digging-stick, we are unable to say.

539 9. Matenga i vao kaka: Fatigue in barren soil.

241 The word *vao* signifies a piece of scrub land. The husbandman in
461 preparing for his garden selects a site and clears the brush. This expression is applicable to one who undergoes the labor and fatigue of clearing and planting a piece of land that proves unfertile. It is labor in vain.

539 10. Ne ongo e fena ka ko Nua: Although she has sprouted yet
173 Nua.

643 An early Tui Tonga sent to the chief Loau for one of his daughters.
581 Instead of asking outright for the girl the Tui Tonga's messenger was instructed to ask Loau for yams. Possibly the messenger himself did not know the purport of his errand but Loau at once understood, probably from previous agreement between himself and the Tui Tonga. Loau had two daughters, the younger not yet of marriageable age, the other named Nua, had recently borne a child. Loau, therefore, still in the language of the yam crop, returned answer to the Tui Tonga that one part of the crop was not yet ripe, and that the other part had already sprouted, using the word *fena*, which means a piece of seed yam which has been planted and commenced to grow. The Tui Tonga replied as above, meaning of course that although Nua had borne a child to someone else yet he still wanted her, for she was a very beautiful woman.

11. Oku fena ae tau kei mula ae tau: The crop is sprouting. the crop is still unripe.

As explained in No. 10, the reference is to the answer of Loau to the Tui Tonga, who sent for one of Loau's daughters. One is over-ripe, and the other is not ripe enough.

539 12. Paki moe talaha: Pick the remainders too.

245 In the breadfruit tree all the fruit do not ripen together, and so in plucking the crop the ripe fruit will be taken and the others left to mature. This expression means to strip the tree bare of unripe as well as of ripe fruit.

539 13. Pala a kahokaho: Rottenness of the *kahokaho*.

244 The *kahokaho* is a species of yam which grows to a great size and is
622 highly valued. It is a chiefly yam, that is, one especially suitable for presentation to a chief. Even if this prime vegetable has commenced to decay yet it is a *kahokaho*, and something better than the best specimens of many other kinds of yam. Besides what may be called its ethical qualifications due to its rank in the yam hierarchy it is a physically fit tuber, as the remainder of the flesh is not affected by the beginnings of decay.

539 21. Faka-hopo taokave: Making taokave jump.

245 The taokave is a kind of coconut which bears small fruits, but carries
524 a large number on the bunch. As the fruits mature the press of so many
857 on the same stalk constantly forces nuts off the bunch. There is a boys' game called faka-hopo taokave, which consists in a number of boys lying down side by side all pressing in towards the center. Any boy who gets shoved out of place on to the top of the other must then go to one of the ends. The expression is used proverbially of a number of people giving someone the cold shoulder, crowding out an individual whom they do not want.

539 22. Fakatuamelie ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu telie: Relying
[137] confidently on my thing that is hanging in the telie tree (*Terminalia catappa* or *T. littoralis*).

There is an old story about one who used to hang food in a tree for another to get. If the food were good and tasty it was hung in a telie tree, but if not very appetizing it was put in a tavahi tree (*Rhus taitensis*?). The person for whom these supplies were left always anticipated with confidence that what he got from the telie would be first-rate, but never expected anything very good from the tavahi. Used generally of relying with full confidence on anybody or anything. (See No. 23.)

23. Fakatuatamaki ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu tavahi: Without confidence in my thing that is hanging in the tavahi tree.

To expect little good from any person or thing. (See No. 22.)

539 24. Feji lou-ji: Breaking off ji leaves.

797 This is recent, and is said to owe its being to the missionary's cow.
231 The leaves of the ji (*Cordyline terminalis*) are used for cow feed, and a
554 man who wanted to get into the missionary's good graces would recommend himself by his readiness to get food for the cow. Used generally of ingratiating services.

539 25. Fokotuu niu: Piling up coconuts.

245 Coconuts are very plentiful in Tonga, and large heaps are gathered. Applied to that which is in great quantity.

539 26. Foui ne fai: The foui tree did it.

461 This is the literal translation following the story told of the origin of the expression. The story is that a man and his wife lived together in a compound fenced all round, but at one spot a foui tree growing just outside the boundary leaned over within the compound. The woman often asked her husband to cut this tree down, but he procrastinated until at length a man of irresistible charm climbed up the tree and, thus gaining access to the inside of the compound, successfully paid his addresses to the lady of the house. To her husband's wrath she retorted that his own

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dilatoriness in cutting down the tree had provided a mode of ingress to the disturber of domestic peace; "It was your *fohi* that did it." 539 [46]

The application is exactly parallel to the English phrase that it is So-and-so's own fault. The full expression as given above is not always used, but one frequently says, "It is his own *fohi*," that is, "It is his own fault."

27. Hange ha kainikavea: Like a parasite. 539

Kainikavea means a tree which has taken root in the living trunk or branches of another tree finally growing so large as to envelop and conceal its host. The banyan has this habit. Proverbially the phrase is used of a supplanter, one who usurps the rights and privileges of another. 824 571 829

28. Hange ha lou milemila: Like a strip of *milemila*. 539

The *milemila* is a strip of the outer cuticle of the leaves of plants such as the coconut and fan-palm. These strips turn white when dried and bunches of them are used as head ornaments by warriors and dancers. The expression is used of things that are thin and light, and of thin people. 245 824 301 [826]

29. Hange ha lou vahivahi: Like a *vahivahi* leaf. 539

The *vahivahi* is a little plant found in considerable quantity on the island of Eua, whose leaves are in constant motion even when the breeze is scarcely perceptible. Used of one who is very obedient, is never still but always running about doing the bidding of others. 824 554 824

30. Hange ha mahelei to: Like a strip of sugar cane. 539

Applied to a thin person, a narrow piece of cloth, and generally to meagre, scanty objects, the comparison being to a thin, sharp-edged, pointed piece of the outer bark of the sugar cane. 824 826

31. Hange ha niu afangia: Like a nut-tree blown by a hurricane. 539

Used especially of a man who sways with laughter, like a nut-tree swayed by the wind. 824 522

32. Hange ha niu auulu: Like a nut tree with the leaves cut off. 539

This is Tongan banter of a tall person. A coconut tree with the leaves cut off is certainly a very lanky looking object. A touch of poignancy is given to the expression by the fact that the trees so treated are never good bearing varieties, but an unfruitful kind that nobody cares much about. 824 826

33. Hange ha tahii toa: Like heart of iron-wood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*). 539

Hard, firm, as we say, "heart of oak." 824 157

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of banana stem was said to be joined to the hibiscus. A strip of the banana stem of course makes a very poor ligature, being loose fibered and brittle. 539
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41. Hu mata niu: Entering eye of nut.

There are three depressions at the top of the coconut, but only one of these marks a hole. The unskilled person might try to open the nut by piercing one or other of the two false eyes, but the experienced man goes for the right hole. Hence the expression means to get right on the spot, but is used in the bad, or at all events unpopular, sense of kindness confined to one's own immediate relatives or friends; kindness confined to one particular spot. 539
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42. Kai kape fifi: Eating hot kape (*Arum costatum*).

One who has eaten a piece of this root at the pungent stage of its growth will find his mouth so burnt that he will not be likely to join in the conversation and laughter of those about him. This picture of the man sitting silent with his stinging mouth is used of one who, ashamed of a wrong done by him, or for some such reason, sits taciturn in the company of others. 539
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[37]
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43. Koe vaavaa he koe tagata: Branchy, for 'tis man.

Man, with the wide and numerous ramifications of his relationships, is the most branchy of all things. "Do you call so-and-so a many branched thing? Why, it is nothing compared to man." 539
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44. Malakia a moojipo: The moojipo trodden down.

This plant is frequently found in the road-ways, but lives on in spite of being walked upon. So the moojipo has passed into a proverb of that which bears up stoutly against ill-treatment and adversity: comes up smiling after every blow. 539
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45. Mamalu a mohuku: Overshadowing of grass.

One is overshadowed by forest trees, and this means literally one who undertakes to make a clearing on land where apparently large trees are standing, and finds that the "trees" are but weak and easily cut plants, "mere grass." So of any task seemingly formidable which, when undertaken, proves easy. 539
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46. Motu lou-tou: Broken tou leaf.

The leaf of the tou (*Cordia aspera*) is very brittle; a slight pull snaps the leaf completely asunder. So used of that which is broken right across, completely severed. 539
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[137]

47. Nonofa ae makahunu moe niu motuu: The makahunu (hard volcanic rock) living with the ripe coconut.

These rocks were used for making the stone adzes and were handy for splitting open a coconut, and breaking it up if necessary. The phrase, 539
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FOOD

PREPARATION

54. **Fengutu a fei-umu ota:** To defend badly cooked (insufficiently cooked) food. 539
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To defend one's badly done work against the criticisms of others, as the man who has prepared and served underdone food may persist, in spite of all that others urge, in declaring that his feast is done to a turn.

55. **Fifi ika maka:** Wrapping rock fish in leaves. 539

Rock fish are those of fine quality. In cooking fish are frequently wrapped up in a sheath of plaited coconut leaves. The object of this is to keep the fish intact, and is a method employed specially in cooking fish of good quality. A "rock" fish is worth the trouble of plaiting the leaflets round it. Taking pains over a thing that is worth the care. (See No. 203.) 252

56. **Fifi ika vale:** Wrapping up a fish of no account.

This is the reverse of No. 55. Taking great pains over what is not worth the trouble.

57. **Hange ha feimu uha:** Like cooking in the rain.

The preparation of food which is carried out in the open, or with the protection only of very inadequate shelters, is rendered difficult by rain; the food is liable not to be as well cooked in wet as in fine weather. This phrase is a rebuke to those who have performed badly a piece of work, although the conditions under which they labored were favorable. [46]

58. **Hange ha fokifokihi tunu:** Like the turning of food baked (in the embers).

Food cooked in this way must not be left alone, but constantly turned. Use of a thing that is in constant requisition.

59. **Hiki lepo:** Moving the *lepo* (leaves with which the earth oven is covered on the outside). 539
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It is used of taking advantage of the temporary absence of anyone to usurp that which belongs to him, "to jump his claim". It is said that the expression originated in one of the voyages of the great canoe called the *Domipeau*, which is asserted to have brought in one trip from Uvea to Tonga the stones for many of the great sepulchral vaults of the highest chiefs. Seagoing canoes used to be equipped with a *tulafu*, a large wooden bowl filled with earth in which ovens were made to cook the food. The *Domipeau* had an immense *tulafu* commensurate with her own huge size, so large that a number of ovens could be dug in it at the one time. It is the practice when the food is taken out of the oven to put aside the leaves with which it was covered, and not mix the leaves belonging to various ovens.

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539 self unable to make the trip, as for example, through lack of a boat, it is
484 said of him that all the fish he will be able to get will be by thinking about
262 the island; he will have a purely imaginative treat. The expression is used
152 of unsatisfied desires generally, as of a man who wishes to marry a particular woman but can get no further in his courship than going to visit her and seeing where she lives.

539 95. Koto kai a kui: All the eating of a blind man; the reckless
264 eating of a blind man.
183

Used of that which is done recklessly, ignorantly, like the blind man who cannot see to choose his food, but eats what his hand lights on.

96. Kuhu te elo pato te emo: Puffing at the stink smacking in licking, that is, to utter the wry-faced "pugh" characteristic of one offended by a bad smell, and at the same time to make the clicking or smacking noise of one who is licking up food.

Used of those who eat bad food in spite of its offensiveness.

[197] Linguistically this is very interesting. The word "te" is apparently
[92] the article found in Maori and many other Polynesian languages (Hawaiian, ke) although not found, at least as an ordinary article, in either Tongan or Samoan.

97. Longo moe fatu: Silent with the belly.

Applied to one who sits silent under rebuke, making no effort to exculpate himself, but whilst he is thus tacitly accepting the blame of what is charged against him, he is also enjoying its benefits. The original idea is that of one who has eaten to full satisfaction where he had no right to eat. When reprimanded he sits silent accepting the blame, but he sits silent with a full belly.

539 98. Pani puaka pani fonu: Smeared with pig, smeared with
262 turtle.
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The pig and the turtle are favorite and valuable delicacies and will be found more in the abodes of the chiefs than anywhere else. For anyone to carry about on his person the smell of this rich fare is a sign that he is a person of some consequence.

539 99. Nifo tuu he vale: Teeth in a foolish man.
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Good instruments thrown away on one who cannot use them. The wise man procures food for his teeth to chew, but the fool is unable to make this provision.

539 100. Pipiko moe nifo: Lazy with the teeth, lazy although there
461 are teeth.

Men have teeth with which to eat, and hands with which to work and to get that which will satisfy the teeth. This is used of a lazy man

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who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands of the teeth. 539
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101. *Teu ke hihi kae ola*: About to cut out but gnawing.

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or badly-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner. 539
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PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. *Kai pe lea*: Just eating speech.

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food presented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food. 539
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103. *Koe ma ka te mate*: Ashamed, but I'll die.

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind. 539
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104. *Motu ka nae navel*: Broken but it was bound.

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly. 539
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[829]

105. *Puia a kaiaji*: Sending a forager.

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get. 539
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106. *Ua ma kae mae ma*: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*.

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indicates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing. 539
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539 of it, and when he wants to eat, begs food from someone else. Generally
262 of selfish behavior of this sort. (Compare No. 134.)
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539 107. Tufa kau tufa: Distribute. I'll distribute.
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Primarily refers to one who is not satisfied with the share which falls to him in a distribution of food or goods, but who promises himself to even things up when his turn comes to direct the apportionment of gifts. Go ahead now with your distribution and give me this miserable little portion, but the time will come when I have my turn at dividing and it will be a small gift that you will get then. Thence used generally of tit for tat.

108. Tuku umu fakavajivaji: To leave food in the Vajavaji way.

Vajivaji is the name of a people in Fiji, who when they take a present of food to anyone have the custom of waiting to get a portion for themselves. This has become proverbial in Tonga for giving a thing and then asking for a portion of it.

539 109. Umu pouli kae ai hoota: Food in the dark but with a friend
264 there.
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When food is taken up from the oven in the dark there will be more or less of a scramble in which some are likely to come off badly, but a man who has been so placed that he cannot very well look after himself will yet fare very well if he has a well placed friend who is mindful of his interests. It is applicable to those cases, very numerous in civilized as in more primitive societies, where in the distribution of favors the influential man on the spot remembers his less advantageously situated friend.

539 110. Uto taunga mo kuma oku ua: Coconut pith put away to
262 keep and two rats.

The *uto* is the sweet spongy substance inside a coconut which has germinated. It is frequently eaten, as a sweetmeat rather than as a regular food, and was particularly used to pacify children. Should some of this be put away to keep for another occasion and one rat find it out there will probably be something left over for the original owners, but if two or more rats get to work on it the whole will soon be finished. So the expression is used of anything which the owner is reserving for himself, and which other people, not merely a single person whose appetite might be satisfied while there is still something left, but a number, find out and wholly consume.

DOING OF TASKS. CRITICISM

539 111. Fai faka-muomua-nima: Do with front of hand.
461

Doing a task half-heartedly, touching it, as it were, only with the tips of the fingers instead of grasping it heartily and sincerely with the whole hand. (Compare No. 416.)

112. *Fakamohe mei ulu*: To put to rest from head.

Used of that which is near at hand; a task that must be accomplished in the immediate future. The picture is that of a man who lies down to sleep with his working waist-cloth or his tools placed near at hand, both as a reminder of his task and to be easy of access when he awakes in the early morning. It is also used of something which is lying just ahead in the journey of life. *Fakamohe*, put to rest, besides being used for example, of putting a child to sleep, is also used of placing, putting, inanimate things. This latter sense fits best with the context of the phrase.

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113. *Fakaanga i hiku mamao*: Criticise (something) at extreme distance.

An admonition that if you want to offer criticisms or advice upon anything, choose something that is well within your own experience and knowledge. Keep quiet about what you don't understand.

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114. *Fakaanga i tefito'i niu*: Criticise at the foot of the coconut tree.

One who stays on the ground but is lavish with his advice to the man who has climbed the tree. Generally of the man who stays out of a job but has plenty of talk to offer to the one who has gone into it.

115. *Fili akau vaivai*: Picking weak tree.

Choosing an opponent in a contest who is not very formidable; generally looking out for a soft thing, like the woodman who picks an easy tree to cut.

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116. *Fokotuutuu ae fefie hu*: To stack up almost rotten firewood.

A pile of such wood may make a considerable display, but when used will be quickly consumed. It will prove in fact to be a big stack of hollow pretension.

117. *Hala i tangata ia*: Being without man, that is, there is no man to carry out what is desirable.

A certain work languishes because it has no man fit for it. The expression is used also in rebuke of someone who misbehaves himself where there is nobody able to check him. You misbehave yourself in this way, but only because you are without a man, because there is nobody here to punish you.

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118. *Muomua puke fue*: Grasping *fue* in front.

The *fue* is a creeping plant with strong tough stem, used anciently as a rope for drawing heavy loads. When a team of men was dragging a load the man in front just held the line and did very little of the actual

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539 work. So of a man who seems to be on the job but is in reality putting
483 very little real work into it.

461 It is also explained as referring to two or more people going through
the bush together, walking in single file as the Tongans invariably do, when
539 the front man, grasping a branch and holding it out of his own way, lets
576 it fly back in the face of the man following. This is the explanation given
481 by Baker, but although he had opportunities of getting correct elucidations
denied to the present day investigator, yet the other application of the ex-
pression has much to recommend it.

539 119. Taki taha tali hono vaha-ngatae: Each one accept his duty;
461 each one do his duty.

417 The word *taha-ngatae*, translated "duty", is commonly and probably
correctly explained as meaning literally "between the *ngatae*". The *ngatae*
466 was used as fencing posts or for marking lengths of the fences in the com-
622 pounds of high chiefs. When the people were mustered to build the fence
565 they were assigned to do so many spans between the *ngatae*, and thus the
distance between the *ngatae* came to be used in the sense of one's share
of a task, duty.

539 120. Ojiki a velenga: Finished desire.

461 The division of this phrase into its component words, and the literal
translation, are conjectural, but the sense in which the expression is em-
ployed is that of doing to the utmost of one's power.

121. Ta fakalanga ta: Stroke arousing stroke.

When workmen are weary and are resting they will be stirred to
recommence their labor if one of their number gets up and starts working
[57] again. Used also of a remark which arouses antagonism, and begets strife
and argument.

122. Tuai kae ngai: Slow but moving on gradually.

Has its obvious meaning of that which cannot make any great pace,
but nevertheless keeps advancing.

Another form, apparently modern, is *Tuai kae nga'i*, which means
slow but creaking, that is, creaking on its way; the idea being that of a
cart moving sluggishly and creakily. The application is the same as above.

123. Tuu kau oi: Stand I shall grunt, groan.

Used by a weak or aged man to himself as he forces himself to get
about some work. Come on old chap, get to it even if it does make you
groan.

124. Valevale malohi: Unskilled (but) strong, or a strong un-
skilled person; an unskilled person who works with a will.

A man who has no special skill but who works with all his might
("does strongly" as the Tongan idiom has it), is more satisfactory than a

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67

skilled man who is idle and slack ("weak at working" in Tongan idiom). 539
A rather less complimentary shade of meaning may be conveyed by this 461
phrase, namely, it is the way of the unskilled (or foolish, the same word
is used in both senses) to go ahead with all their might at a job although
they may be all wrong.

125. *Veuveuki ke lelei*: Upsetting for good.

Veuveuki means to introduce confusion, to wrest things from their
right order, to change instructions that have been given about a piece of
work. This phrase indicates one who refuses to obey orders, makes a
change in the instructions given, or otherwise disarrays a job, but does it in
the knowledge that the prescribed method of procedure is not a good one.
Such a man introduces confusion into the task, but it is a confusion that
turns out well.

MANUFACTURES

CLOTH

[Cloth is made by ingeniously pasting together lengths of the beaten- 287
out bark of the paper mulberry (*hiapo*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*), on which 137
a design is stained and picked out with black coloring matter.] 386

126. *Hafuhafu koka*: Dripping *koka*.

The *koka* (*Bischofia* or *trifoliata javanica*) furnished a red dye for 539
staining the native cloth. This dye is obtained by mixing the grated wood 386
of the tree with water and squeezing through a mat. The imagery of the [37]
expression is taken from the drops of liquid falling down from the strainer,
though when the mat has just been freshly filled the liquid runs down in a
full stream. This expression, however, evidently refers to mere drops,
more particularly perhaps the hard won drops when the mixture has been
strained almost dry. It is applied to eking out a thing, trying to make it
go round.

127. *Hange ha fakatau kupeji*: Like buying a printing-frame. 539

The printing-frames for the native cloth are highly valued, and when 287
it comes to buying one there is apt to be a good deal of haggling. So this 432
expression is applied to a transaction marked by confusion and cross pur-
poses.

128. *Hange ha fau tau koka*: Like a strainer for expressing 539
koka. 386

A coloring matter for staining the native cloth is obtained from the
koka tree (*Bischofia javanica*). To obtain this pigment small pieces of
bark are scraped from the tree, mixed with water, and then strained through
a mat. This mat, which is long and narrow, is wrapped round the ground
bark, and assumes the shape of a huge sausage. The ends are then tied

539 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a
386 convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or
"womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting
the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a recep-
tacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected
[46] to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy
[26] person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes,
is yet very hard to shift.

539 129. Maamaa a hiki papa: Shifting the tapa board is light.
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The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used
in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two
or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one
who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his
own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it,
but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficul-
ties in the way.

539 130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi? Where did you throw your *kahi*
286 shell?
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The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation
of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth
from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that
you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not con-
fined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find
themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected
to supply for themselves.

539 131. Tai e oko atu: The coloring matter will run on, that is,
386 the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained
183 is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.
571

This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer
at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on
one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn
comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another
find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied
especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today
at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 132. Tuu tai: Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the
386 coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.
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This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is
always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome,
whether of physical feature or of conduct.

- 539 181. Kai aipe manu vaivai i he fangota ae lulutai: Weak animals
825 are just eaten up when the lulutai goes fishing.

773 The lulutai, which would seem to mean literally the sea-owl, is alleged to have been a great bird and is identified, though without certainty, with the mythological *kamitatu*, the huge bird to whose breast Kae clung and was borne across the ocean from Pulotu to Samoa. With regard to this proverb it is said that when the lulutai went out for fish the larger sea creatures, such as the whale, were the object of his quest to be taken home to his haunts. Smaller creatures were merely tit-bits casually swallowed by the way. So do the strong prey upon the weak, destroying and consuming them as a thing hardly worth noticing.

- 539 182. Lofa tala matangi: Tern telling wind.

825 The appearance of the tern (*Sterna* sp.) indicates the approach of a
821 hurricane. Expressions of this sort are capable of much the same applica-
[136] tion in Tongan as in English; for example, when you see So-and-So coming
you always know that something is the matter.

- 539 183. Lulu taki lulu: Owl leading owl.

825 Used generally of the mating of things that suit each other. It is
821 said to have originated with the marriage of Fiŋita Puku, son of the Tui
581 Haangana, with Fatafehi Lapaha, the Female Tui Tonga. Both man and
woman were exceedingly handsome.

- 539 184. Mamahi noa ngutu o fuiva: Mouth of fly-catcher (*Myioles-
825 tes heinei*) labors in vain; or labor in vain of the mouth of the
829 fly-catcher.

461 The fly-catcher has a sweet note, but his singing is mere waste of
[136] time so far as getting food is concerned. So used of anyone who goes to
much pains but gets no fruit for his labor. This expression was used of a
chief who was vainly assiduous in his addresses to a lady.

- 539 185. Tengetenga utuaki maa miji: Tengetenga carrying (food)
825 for miji.

829 Tengetenga is a local name in Niua Tohotabu (Keppel's Island) for
571 the fuiva (fly-catcher, *Myiolestes heinei*); miji is also the name of a bird
[136] (*Aplonis tabuensis*). The tengetenga is the smaller of these two birds, and
the phrase is used for the weak helping the strong. "the poor feeding the
rich." (Baker.)

- 539 186. Molumalu faka-kaka: Fine like a parrot.

825 The parrot (*kaka*) found in Eua has an abundance of handsome
plumage and with his feathers on looks a large full-fleshed bird. Divested
of this showy covering his body is found to be small and thin. Applied to
that which is showy but is found to be of little worth.

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539 the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish
226 and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself
584 to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is
584 being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena
and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once
be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

539 195. *Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku*: Get a *tukuku* and take
825 it to Talanuku.

622 This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was
a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate
our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course
flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony
fish.

539 196. *Hange ha ulua ha heli*: Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing
825 *heli*.

571 The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers.
When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he
makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scatter-
ing other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. *Hange ha ulua oho-kai*: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.

• [46] The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is
pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who
when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

539 198. *Hange ha fanau a ha fonu*: Like a turtle's family.

825 The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch.
855 About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is re-
593 puted to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her
602 station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way
down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who
do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the
other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents
who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind
to close relatives.

539 199. *Hange ha ika kuo vae*: Like a fish that is divided.

825 This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divi-
[53] sions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken
up into appropriate headings.

539 200. *He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku*: What, is there a fish
825 that will swim (run) towards the tail?

592 The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The
expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

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215. Aunga mo kaunanga: Fishing with a servant woman.

Aunga, translated fishing, means rather the place where the fishing is done, or other rendezvous. The meaning is to have an appointment with one who is under the orders of another and is not free to see the sport, or what not, for which the meeting was arranged. It is also used of, say, fishing in company with one who wants to take the fruit of the sport to the chief, keeping none for the fishers. 539
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216. Fangota fai ki he kato ava: Fishing into the basket with a hole in it. 539
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This expression is analogous to such English expressions as "carrying water in a sieve." It is said to owe its origin to the ruse of the legendary hero Longopoa who sailed to Pulumotu, the Tongan Paradise and Abode of the Dead. Longopoa wished to find his way back to Tonga but did not see how it could be managed. At length he saw his opportunity in a fishing expedition of some of the gods of Pulumotu in which he was invited to join. Being entrusted with the basket into which the spoil was to be put, he made a hole in the end of it and as fast as the fish handed to him by the divine sportsmen were put in they fell out through the hole. In this way the fishing excursion was prolonged until the party reached Tonga, as Longopoa had foreseen and designed. As they were fishing the gods would now and again ask, "How's our basket? Full yet?" And Longopoa would as often reply, "No, there's still room." At length the gods exclaimed in surprise, "Why, this is fishing into a leaky basket."

217. Fetuaki a kupenga tutui: Mixing of fishermen who go straight through entanglements. 539
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Tutui means to go right through obstacles, as one who bursts through jungle or brush. The phrase indicates fishing parties who have come into close proximity, but waste no time in talking to each other or even in exchanging the civilities that the rank of any of the fishers might ordinarily demand. Fishing, moreover, was an occupation that did not wait on man, the proper times for the fish being marked by moon and tide; it is a case of now or never. The expression is applied to people or parties of workmen who will not be diverted from their occupation by outside interruptions. Baker gives: "The contest of two persons or parties equally strong or courageous."

218. Hala kea ahia: Faulty but tried.

Nets and snares for both land and sea creatures were examined and tested. It might happen that the sportsmen at last weary of trying to correct a weakness or fault in their net or snare, determined to give it a trial, when, although not very optimistic of the result, they make a fine catch. Never mind what the net or snare is like give it a trial, who knows what luck we may have? 539
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219. Hago ha pa iloa: Like a famous hook.

Fish-hooks were named and their reputations known and spread abroad. This expression is equivalent to saying famous, well known. [552]

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539 220. He koe liko? What, is it the liko?

226 The liko is one form of fishing net honorably distinguished by the large number of fish caught with it. This expression deprecates unduly optimistic expectations; Why, is it the liko that you are out with, that you expect so much?

221. Hoholo ae pa he gutu oe valu: The hook near the mouth of the valu (a large edible fish).

The fish is likely to swallow the hook, hence of temptation to which one is specially liable to succumb being put in his way.

222. Jia kupenga he ua: Weaving net because of the throat.

One who is not a skilled fisherman but who by force of hunger is driven to weave himself a net, but after all because of his lack of skill is unable to do anything useful with it. Generally of one who is driven by circumstances to make some attempt but is unable to carry it through.

223. Jiu a tama: Son away fishing (for the bonito or shark).

Indicates a woman who is watching day and night for the return of her son from sea.

539 224. Ka ai ha mala to ki uta: If there is a curse let it fall to the shore.

226 This does not seem to have any proverbial application, but is an expression used by the fisherman when bad luck dogs him. Fishing is an exceedingly ticklish operation and cannot succeed if disturbed by broken tabus and malevolent sprites. We might almost call this phrase a prayer of the fishermen. Let the curse leave them and go ashore so that they may have good luck.

539 225. Koli tali aho: Fishing waiting for day.

226 This is used of the procrastinator. During the day time a group of people may say that they will go fishing when night comes (the word 461 koli refers to fishing with hand nets), but when the darkness falls there may be those too lazy to carry the plan through and who make some excuse to stay at home. These idle wrigglers out of their job are the ones stigmatized in the expression.

539 226. Kupenga e tautau kae fangota: The net is hanging but there will be fishing.

226 Hanging nets out to dry is a sign that the fishing has ended, but this expression indicates that operations have only been temporarily suspended. A party that has had bad luck may give over for the time but with the resolve soon to try their fortune again; they are hanging up their net but there is going to be more fishing.

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239. Unga toho ngeeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell.

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The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

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240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped.

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This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

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241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell.

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Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

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242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire.

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The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

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243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*.

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The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself.

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The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kalooa ka koe vaka: The *kalooa* is in the right but it is the boat.

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The *kalooa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

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539 arises between them the blame should fall not on the stationary *kaloa* but
225 on the boat which went to the place where the *kaloa* lives.
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246. Utu tahi moe alaala too: Carrying seawater and rummag-
ing for the *too*, a kind of shell-fish.

Literally this indicates one who has been to the sea to bring water and while there has taken the opportunity to do a little shell fishing. It is applied to one who while ostensibly occupied about some task, or in doing some errand, has taken the opportunity presented by this job of doing some private business. An illustration of it is a person apparently very willing to go on an errand for another, but whose real reason for going is the opportunity that will be given to meet someone whom he is anxious to see.

SHIPS AND SAILING

539 247. Faka-fotu-la: Appearing by sail.

501 The appearance of the sail of a boat too far out at sea for her hull to be distinguished is not always a safe guide in estimating the size of the vessel, as little ships sometimes have big sails. This is said to have been notably the case with the old Tongan canoe called the *tongitaki*.

539 248. Fakahua kae paea pe: Tacking but just drifting.

502 A sea expression meaning a boat which is beating up against the wind but making little headway, being drifted out of her course by currents or waves. Applied to a man who is working against obstacles but whose efforts are not meeting with much success.

539 249. Fakato vaka a Kupolu:

431 We have not been able to get any explanation of this phrase. The meaning given by Baker is, "To give and take again by force." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 207.) The literal meaning seems to be, "Handing over a boat of (or by) Kupolu," and probably there is connected with it a story of a boat given to the people of Upolu in Samoa, or given by them to someone else, and then taken back by the original owner.

539 250. Fakatou katea: Both *katea*.

501 The *katea* is the larger of the two canoes in the Tongan double boat. If both canoes are large and capacious so that scarcely any distinction can be made between them they might be described as both *katea*. The expression is applied in various ways, as of a well mated couple, or generally of two things which are both good and useful of their kind.

539 251. Foa kau tuu: Smash. I'll stand, that is, stand safely on the
502 shore.

Used of a boat in danger near the land the crew of which determine to let her drive on shore regardless of rocks or breakers. The boat will

certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. 539
Human life is more valuable than any boat. 503
[181]

252. Hange ha fana fotu: Like a mast that shows up. 539

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. 501
"Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua: Like pouring oil on 539
a rough sea. 823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofū: Safe from the hurricane but 539
sunk in the calm. 829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. Kanakana fai ki tahi: Eating carried out at sea. 539

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus there will be the more left for himself. 264
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256. Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama: If it had been that I had 539
acted hama fashion. 501
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The hama was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the hama is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia: Eating a leak with seas 539
coming on board. 505
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Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

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- 539 269. Matangi lelei to ki la mahaehae: Good wind falling in torn
181 sail.

This indicates good opportunities put into the hands of those incapable of turning them to advantage.

- 539 270. Ongo fakaevaha: News like that from the open sea; more
203 literally from "between."

The stretch of sea separating one island from another is commonly spoken as "the between." One might employ the same mode of speech for being out at sea.

News from the open sea is the unreliable reports that travellers bring; yarns concocted while out at sea at a distance from good sources of information. It may be applied generally to stories that are not sufficiently founded on fact.

- 539 271. Ohoohe a liu lahi: A large hold (of a boat) unfilled.
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A large vessel of great carrying capacity may be unfilled and yet contain a very large cargo, while a small boat will be filled to overflowing by a much smaller load. Small people, and small receptacles, may appear to be carrying very large loads but in reality their burdens are much less than those easily borne by persons and vessels of greater capacity.

- 539 272. Pata i la tuu or Pata i la kuo tuu: Rejoicing in sail that is
502 standing.

Use of a high degree of satisfaction, such as that which the sailor feels when the breeze is fair, the sail well filled, and the boat making good way.

273. Peau tupu-koso: Wave rising (at the) koso.

[50] The koso is an ornamental carving at the bow and at the stern of the canoe. The expression refers to a wave that rises right under the bow or stern of the boat and gives the steersman very little time or opportunity to ride it properly. Hence of danger or calamity which comes suddenly upon one giving him but little time either to avoid it or take measures to meet it.

274. Pelu la kei mamao: Reef sail still at a distance, that is, while the storm is still at a distance.

[181] To have everything snug and prepared in ample time to meet a threatened danger.

- 539 275. Pili e tauhala: Near the rope, or the rope is near.
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The tauhala is a rope that was trailed astern in rough weather to afford succor to anyone who happened to be washed overboard. This expression is said to indicate primarily one who has been washed overboard and has nearly missed the saving rope; has nearly let it pass him before he

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has succeeded in seizing it. Generally of one who has had a narrow escape. 539
To be exposed to danger (Baker). 501

276. *Po fakafitaa uli*: Night, persisting through difficulties (with) 539
steering. 502
Literally applied to a boat making her way through storm and dark- 461
ness; the steering of the vessel is rendered extremely difficult but the sailor 183
sticks bravely to his task, and in spite of difficulty and peril, the vessel
holds on her course. Applied generally to hard, arduous tasks, especially
with the idea of going through with them, refusing to be daunted.

277. *Punufuu hage ha fuu vaka Vavau*: Obstructing like a great 539
Vavau boat. 133
It is said that a boat coming from Vavau to Haapai was unlucky 183
enough to run on one of the reefs there blocking the opening which was
the entrance to the anchorage at that spot. The expression is applied, for
example, to one who enters a room and plants himself down in front of the
door.

278. *Ta e lango kei mamao*: Cut the slips still at a distance, that 539
is, when the occasion for its use is still at a distance. 504
Lango, rendered here by slips, is a timber for raising anything on like 183
the timbers on which a boat is pulled up out of the water or launched.
The slips on which a boat is launched is probably the timber specifically
indicated in this expression. The meaning is to have the preparations for
launching all made beforehand so as not to waste time about it when the
day comes to put the vessel into the water. Generally, to prepare well
ahead for anything.

279. *Takanga a tongiaki*: A *tongiaki* in company. 539
The *tongiaki* is one of the old sailing canoes of Tonga, not so large or 501
seaworthy as the more familiar *kalia*. A couple of these canoes might sail 502
along in company in fair weather but if a storm sprang up neither could 572
rely much on the other for assistance. They had neither the size nor the 571
qualities to make them very serviceable companions in distress; in fact each
would be hard enough put to it to secure her own safety. So used of fair-
weather friends.

280. *Takanga enau fohe*: Mates (at) their oar; perhaps, their 539
oars are mates. 461

The Tongan sailing canoes had two, sometimes three, steering oars.
In calm weather one man apiece sufficed for these oars but in storm more
would be required. This phrase indicates that the men at the oars, whether
one at each or more, are well matched in skill and so the steering is done
well and harmoniously. Men who are all capable workmen laboring together
and carrying out their task ably and agreeably.

539 281. Tangata e taha oe vaka: One man in the boat.

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561 Only one able-bodied man on the job; all the rest are women and
562 children or old men. Everything on the shoulders of this one man.

539 282. Tata tuli vaka: Beating (of the native drum) chasing boat.

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534 It was common for the sailing canoes to have a drum on board with which arrivals and departures were announced. When two boats were racing and one was on the point of overtaking the other the drum on the overtaking boat was beaten in a particular way. (There were many different ways of beating the drums in accordance with the purpose for which they were sounded.) This beat of approaching victory naturally spurred the crew to their highest efforts. So of the exultant energy which is put into a task which is on the point of being carried through to a successful conclusion.

539 283. Ta tefito mei ama: Strike root from the leeward canoe.

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[501] This expression, which means to kill a man or woman for food, does not seem to have passed into proverbial use. Roots are the stand-by in times of famine. In the leeward canoe were mostly found the passengers, largely women, who were not occupied in the working of the vessel. To strike a root from the leeward canoe, therefore, was to replenish the larder by a foray amongst the passengers.

The phrase occurs in the tale of the voyage to Tonga from Fiji of Tui Motuliki, the son of Sinalele and the bones of the two Maui, Atalanga and Kijikiji, accompanied by the chief of Bau, Nokelevu. Each day during the voyage when it was reported to Nokelevu that the oven was hot he would order his people to strike a root from the leeward canoe and a man would thereupon be slain and eaten.

539 284. Tefua a vaka Lautala: Gathering together of the boats of Lautala.

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183 This proverb does not seem to be any longer in use. Baker renders it: "Clever hands gathered together at any work," in accordance with a present-day explanation that it indicates things not large but valuable and strong.

Lautala is the name of an anchorage or beach on the island of Haano in the Haapai group. If this is the Lautala referred to it would seem to have been a place noted for boat-building or seamanship. An informant who has Fijian blood in him referred the expression to the island of Lautala near Suva in Fiji. This is but a small island, and he explained the phrase as probably meaning that when the boats of Lautala are gathered together their utmost might is a thing of no account to the powerful chiefs in the neighboring localities. There does not seem much support for this interpretation, but the reference to the Fijian islet may be correct, especially if its people were famed as boat-builders, a matter about which we have no information. Tongans frequently get boats from Fiji. For the meaning "small but valuable" compare Nos. 85 and 203.

285. Toki tau ae vaka e:

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

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286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail.

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

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288. Tuu e la mo poupon: The sail standing with support.

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

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289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat.

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

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290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders.

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

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291. Vakavaka mua: First boat.

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

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CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day.

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

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539 293. **Mokomoko aho:** Coolness (of) day.

821 This indicates the coolness which precedes the dawn, and is thus a
461 harbinger of day. It is used to encourage those who are getting towards
183 the end of a task. Persevere, be of good heart, we are close to daylight,
we have nearly finished.

539 294. **To lelei ae ataata:** The dusk falling well, "The sun setting
821 in a clear sky" (Baker).

A sign of fair weather; has the same applications as similar expressions in English.

539 295. **Afa ka e tofu:** Hurricane but there will be calm.

821 An exhortation to people in hardship not to make their present difficulties
571 an excuse for neglecting the kindnesses which men owe to each
829 other. The present adversity may make it difficult to do a kindness to a
neighbor, but prosperity will return and then the neglected opportunities of
showing good-will will be remembered with shame.

539 296. **Fakatofutofu kae hiko:** Calm but about to blow; apparently
821 ly well but again falling upon evil.

The expression originates with the hurricane. As the wind veers there is a calm; after this interval the wind blows again from another quarter with as great violence as before. The word *hiko* translated above as "blow" has perhaps the signification of moving on to another quarter.
[52] In the game of *lalo* this word is used of a disc which passes another and lies nearer to the scoring-line.

297. **Hange ho aho taftonga:** Like a clear bright day (literally day swept by the south wind).

[157] Applied to persons of open, serene countenance.

298. **Matafi e tonga ho finangalo:** May the south wind sweep your mind; may your mind be serene and unruffled.

[157] The translation given here is probably literally correct but *taftonga*, which seems literally to mean "swept by the south wind," is felt and written as a single word meaning "clear, serene," and is constantly used of fine weather, and figuratively of the mind.

299. **Hange ha aho tuutuu taufa:** Like a day of intermittent gale.

[157] A day that is neither consistently fine nor uninterruptedly stormy. Applied to persons and things which show a mingling of various characteristics.

300. **Hiko hiko puku:** Blow, blow short.

[183] Refers primarily to the wind blowing in short squalls following quickly one another. Used of things good or bad following quickly one after

539 393. Hange ha matai fana hala: Like the face of a man who has
152 missed his aim.

201 Such a man will be ashamed of his poor shot (with gun or bow and
521 arrows), and may attempt to hide his confusion with inconsequent talk.
Used of someone who has done what he is ashamed of, and whose shame
is betrayed in his face and talk.

539 394. Hange ha tangitofuhia: Like a bewildered diver.

481 Tangitofuhia is used of the bleeding from nose and ears caused by
828 staying a long time under water. In this place it seems rather to refer to
a partial loss of consciousness resulting perhaps from striking the head or
of staying under water too long, which renders the diver unable to find his
way again to the surface. The unfortunate diver will swim about at ran-
dom in his vain efforts to come up. Applied to one who wanders aimlessly
about, or whose thoughts are erratic and disjointed.

539 395. Hange kuo takai kapa hono lae: As though his forehead
571 were sheathed in metal.

157 Kapa is the local variation of copper, and is used for metal generally.
This would seem to be altogether modern, probably suggested by Biblical
language, though the same idea of hardy shamelessness is expressed in the
Tongan phrase "Veiled with clam-shell." (See No. 241.)

539 396. Kamo lalo: Making secret signs.

571 Not strictly a proverb; it means that a number of people sitting
522 together one is ironically complimenting another, or in some other way
fooling him, at the same time making signs to the rest of the company and
thus admitting them into the joke. It is used very much like the Austral-
ianism "pulling his leg."

539 397. Katakata a nifo tea: Smiling white teeth.

152 This is what Uncle Remus calls "a fit of the dry grins." A man may
201 try to cover his shame or confusion with a smile; his teeth will be showing
white as though he were smiling but the real feeling of his heart is far
from laughter.

539 398. Lau lau louhulu: Fingering, fingering dried leaves.

152 A man who is ashamed or embarrassed is likely to break off a piece
of the dried leaves with which the houses are floored and keep twisting it
about in his hands as he talks; if outside of the house he will pick up any
stick or other such thing that happens to be at hand.

[76] So used generally of doing some more or less irrelevant thing to cover
up deficiencies, or to hide one's shame and embarrassment, just as a man
who is behind with his work may start hustling round to give the impres-
sion that he has been hard at it for hours.

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413. **Faala fakatau ki he muiulu:** Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539
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The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. **Tata a tua nima:** Nearness of back of the hand. 539
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The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing. 602
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415. **Teeki pea toki fakataane:** Break wind and then sit properly. 539

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out. 827
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416. **Tufotufa ulu-nima:** Distributing (with) fingers. 539

Giving away grudgingly: not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.) 431
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HOME AND COMPOUND

417. **Ana jiko-makil:** Cave sullied with excrement. 539
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Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.) [342]

418. **Hifo i toumua:** Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539
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The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. **Hikihiki kaua:** Shifting fence or boundary. 539

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed. 423
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539 512. *Mala fai e tangata*: Curse that man makes.
578 A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault of man himself.

539 513. *Muimui a nunua*: Retribution following after.
183 This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels of men.

539 514. *Toka moe kafa*: Lying with cord, lying down bound.
681 One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a
183 bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 515. *Fai faka-fatongia*: Doing compulsory task fashion.
466 The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the
461 chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly because he wishes to do it; but one which he does unwillingly and only because he must. "Government stroke."

539 516. *Fiemua e tua ki mua*: The commoner trying to outwit (a)
565 chief.

829 The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge; the com-
571 moners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 517. *Ha fie matai koia e tangenge*: A would-be craftsman that
554 (that is) large.

183 Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 518. *Jii kae ha*: Small but appearing.
565 Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has
431 very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 519. *Kai foto a tua*: Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we
726 should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.

565 The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is
411 that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

539 cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same
726 thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken
701 up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, "Ta e tea tau e loa,
824 lloga he tale bea hola." "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let
[137] him who is unskilled flee."

569. Tala pea taki mai ha tau: Tell and bring an army.

539 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report
571 one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What
difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to
be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by Tala
pea e foi ha tau: Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 570. Tata langovaka: Striking compensation, that is, fighting
721 again to compensate for a previous defeat.

571 One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat.
183 Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a
previous failure.

539 571. Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi: Bad fighting and bad hiding.

725 A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his
183 troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad
enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 572. Tofi-kulu: Head splitting; a knock-out blow.

726 Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word
194 kulu, head, is interesting as showing the initial k which has been replaced
in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 573. Tulituli ta: Chasing up (the) stroke.

726 An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing
761 foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is
183 putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the
point of bringing off.

539 574. Vava faka-Vaipoa: Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

726 Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expecta-
276 tions that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with
554 a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary
to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the
braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not
unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should
be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the
battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion
who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of
kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with
his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava pre-
ceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

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often divert themselves, viz. shooting rats, I became, 175
after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To 224
provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of 565
the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed,
the servants are sent to strew it in places near the
road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile [525]
the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station
near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like
the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon
the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for
his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills
the most, in the same number of shots, wins the
game.

They are a very active people; yet they often 175
spend whole days, when they have no particular 517
employment, in luxurious indolence. These days 461
they generally close in dancing and singing; of [525]
which they are peculiarly fond. [533]

The chief will send round the district, and col- 175
lect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of 535
both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light
of tomals, or torches, formed, as we before showed, [373]
from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree. [416]
[824]

These dances are very beautiful. Young women
of the most graceful figure and comely features as- [301]
semble on these occasions; their dark ringlets be- [824]
spangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar white-
ness, their necks and shoulders encircled with
wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

512 could easily master). From these records the accompanying tables have been abstracted showing a seven-day routine for a man and a woman and a one-day routine for ten men. The routine for one man is given first in the following table:

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TABLE 2.—DAILY ROUTINE FOR ONE MAN

DAY	MORNING	AFTERNOON	EVENING
Monday	Hoed garden all morning.	Boiled and ate food in bush. Slept in bush. Returned with food.	Ate. Drank kava.
Tuesday	Fed animals. Planted kape. Gathered firewood. Hoed garden.	Ate food. Worked for friend planting taro all afternoon.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Wednesday	To bush for coconuts, food. Prepared oven. Drank kava. Ate.	Hoed in garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Thursday	Boiled food, ate. Talked with friends.	Hoed gardens.	Bathed. Visited, Drank kava.
Friday	Fished. Ate. Drank kava. Prepared church lesson.	Hoed garden. Went to church.	Visited. Slept.
Saturday	Boiled food. Bush for firewood, food. Ate.	Slept. Worked in garden.	Bathed. Ate. Drank kava.
Sunday	Church. Prepared food. Cleaned kava roots. Church. Ate.	Drank kava. Church Slept.	Church. Ate. Visited. Slept.

TABLE 3.—WORK FOR ONE DAY

NAME	MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING
	EARLY	LATE	EARLY	LATE	
Biukala	<i>Fono</i> meeting. Worked in bush. Ate boiled food.	Read. Slept until noon.	Hoed garden.	Church.	Visited. Ate. Played <i>lafo</i> . ^o Slept.
Tui	Fed chickens, pigs. Fetched food from bush. Went to Neiafu.	Baggod copra	Bagged copra.	Hoed garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Betelo	<i>Fono</i> meeting. Drank <i>kava</i> all morning.		Bush for food.	Cooked food.	Slept.
Lole	Ate cold food. Hoed garden.		Returned from bush.	Drank <i>kava</i> .	<i>Kava</i> party till 3 a.m.
Benny K.	Bush for food. <i>Kava</i> for visitor. Ate.	Prepared church- lesson.	Read Bible.	Church.	Played <i>lafo</i> . Ate. Slept.
Tevita	Bush for food. <i>Kava</i> for visitors. Prepared feast.		<i>Kava</i> all afternoon.	Ate feast.	Slept.
Potamani	Bush for food. Boiled, ate food.	Planted pineapples for friend.	Hoed garden.	Slept in bush.	Visited. Slept.
Beni F.	<i>Fono</i> meeting. Hoed garden.	Prepared bush oven.	Ate in bush.	Visiting. Church.	Drank <i>kava</i> .
Moala	<i>Fono</i> meeting. Cooked food. Slept.	Ate food.	Drank <i>kava</i> .	Church.	Drank <i>kava</i> .
Tuipulotu	Boiled food.	Hoed garden.	Slept.	Planted <i>taro</i> .	Visited. Ate. Slept.

^o The game of *lafo* is played by tossing coconut shell discs from one end of a mat to the other. Sets of discs for this game are hard to find in the village; there are two sets only among all the householders. They are in consequence highly valued and cherished. The game is infrequently played but greatly enjoyed when played. Formerly, the game was played only by chiefs, and commoners "caught playing this game . . . would be punished, perhaps even with death," according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 117). The fact that the game is played at all today by commoners is a good measure of some of the internal changes that have been going on within Tongan culture. The only reason why the game is not more frequently played seems to be group inertia. The coconut discs could be easily made if the desire to play were present.

The degree of uniformity in the work of ten different men on one day is shown by Table 3 below:

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Pangai
Vavau
Tonga
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next table:

The daily activities of one woman are shown in the

TABLE 4.—DAILY ROUTINE FOR ONE WOMAN

DAY	MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING
	EARLY	LATE	EARLY	LATE	
Monday	Boiled food. Prepared materials for mat-making.		Plaited a mat till dark.		Slept. Visited. Slept. Ate.
Tuesday	Boiled food. To bush for <i>papaia</i> .	Prepared oven.	Washed clothes. Ate.	Plaited.	Made <i>kava</i> . Slept.
Wednesday	Planted bananas, <i>taro</i> .	Collected copra nuts.	Boiled food. Ate. Washed clothes.		Made <i>kava</i> . Slept.
Thursday	Ironed clothes. Boiled food.	Rested.	Hoed yams for sick husband.		Rested. Visited. Slept.
Friday	Boiled food. Made oven.	Made <i>kava</i> . Washed clothes.	Hoed yams, <i>taro</i> .	Cooked.	Cleaned house. Slept.
Saturday	Reef fishing all morning.		Sewed dress.	Boiled food.	Made <i>kava</i> . Slept.
Sunday	Prepared oven. Church.	Ate. Rested.	Church. Ate.	Visiting.	Church. Visiting.

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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These routines are really routines. Most of the men spend both morning and afternoon working in their bush-gardens. There are exceptions to this when visitors arrive, when it is necessary to prepare church-lessons (in the case of a lay-preacher), when one has been up late the night before drinking *kava* so that a morning sleep is imperative, or when one may work in Neiafu, or finally, when one's garden work is sufficiently advanced that one may use afternoon time for *kava* drinking. The men spend their evenings sleeping or visiting or drinking *kava*. This routine is kept up from day to day, broken only by an occasional visit to another village, by a feast or a holiday season such as Christmas. Sometimes, as in the particular week abstracted in Table 3, one day may be started with a meeting (*fono*) of the men called by the village-overseer. This meeting considered the state of the gardens after a few days of heavy rain and wind had played havoc with the banana-trees. Plans were made at this time for the replanting of banana-trees.

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The work of the woman is equally of a routine nature: mat-making, preparing food, washing clothes, reef-fishing, sewing, house-cleaning, *kava*-making for the men of the household and their male visitors, and occasional days in the gardens cultivating and planting if the husband is sick. The particular woman whose week is abstracted in Table 4 had no infants or young children in her household. Had there been infants she would have kept closer to the village caring for her young children.

For both men and women, Sunday is a day of rest, sleep, and church-going. The men generally spend resting hours either sleeping or drinking *kava*. For the children, Sundays are hard to bear. They are not supposed to play but to rest quietly and act decorously. By evening there is so much pent-up energy among the children that they are past the wit or discipline of any adult to control.

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* The Tongan *fono* council is not so much a council in the sense of a deliberative body. Rather is it a group of men assembled to hear the orders or suggestions or plans of such superiors as chief, noble, government representative. In Pangai the village overseer uses the *fono* to advise the village men of his suggestions and orders or of the orders of the government representatives in Neiafu.

512 The routine as given is for days during the month of
January. It is not to be supposed however, that this routine
varies greatly for different times of the year. There are no
(132) marked seasonal changes in the Tongan climate except the
change from a dry to a wet season. This change does not
(241) affect the growth of plants to any degree. Hence the villager
is cultivating for most of the year, and when he is not
cultivating, he is planting. Annual festivities such as
512 Christmas and New Year celebrations, missionary-confer-
527 ences and the like mean a certain crescendo of economic
activity because feasting and resting and then more feasting
are approved Tongan methods of celebration. This kind of
holiday-making can only be prepared for by extensive and
increased pre-holiday working activity. Otherwise, as has
been stressed, the daily routine is, by and large, the yearly
routine.

512 So far we have been considering the daily routine of the
128 villager in terms of the classified statements of a table. In
order to give some indication of what this daily routine
means in the life of the villager, the following notes are
taken from field-notebooks. They serve to show the contrasts
between day by day work on the one hand and the activities
centred round special celebrations on the other.

512 This is the way life runs in the village today: Bovai is
461 holding a working-party to clear the weeds from his pine-
apple plantation. Many men are busy there today—his
476 friends from the Catholic church and his male relatives.
(574) They finish work in the early afternoon and then come back
to Bovai's house where he has ready for them a large oven-
baked feast. Bovai finds this a good way to get large
amounts of work done. The men enjoy this kind of work
for a change. It is much more sociable, friendly, and
satisfying than sweating away alone in the bush with only
the persistent mosquitoes for company.

512 Hausia is taking no part in this working party. He is
461 working with the men of his own household on his own
plantation. The men take time off during the day to make
592 for themselves an elaborate feast in the bush. One of the
boys comes back to the village bringing with him a few baked
(574) taro-corms and some pieces of baked manioke. This snack
(262) is for Hausia's wife and the girls of the household who are

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spending the day plaiting mats. They will sit down to their main meal of the day some time during the evening when Hausia returns from the bush carefully carrying the women's portion of the food baked during the day and set aside before the men began to eat their bush feast.

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Avai's household has not been working in the bush. The men are busy roasting a large pig which will occupy the position of honour in a gift they are preparing to carry to the village of Makave, some three hours distant. Avai's mother's brother's wife died in Makave last November (three months ago). It is now time for Avai's mother to remember this event by the gift to the deceased's family of a large pig, an equally large root of green *kava* and a quantity of bark cloth. The party set off for Makave about noon; Avai with the *kava*-root and his sister on one horse, a friend Tevita with the roast pig on a second, and Selsoni (cross-cousin to Avai's mother) with the bark cloth on the third horse. The walking party was made up of Avai's mother, her husband and her daughter, the local pastor of the Church of Tonga (the family church) and the pastor's son. When the party arrives on the outskirts of Makave, the pig will be slung on a stout pole and carried thus on the shoulders of two of the men to the honoured house. The party is all dressed in best Sunday clothes. The pig is large and juicily fat. It will make a brave show as the men stagger with it through the village, going the longest and most roundabout way until the procession comes at last to rest before the bereaved household. This is as it should be. For why, says the villager, trouble to implement social and economic obligations if all do not know, talk about, and appreciate your generosity?

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Biukala and Beni Kautai and their two households, about twenty men, women and children, have had a holiday today. They went for a "picnic" to a distant beach, a feast really, to honour relatives visiting from a distant village. They went with the early morning tide in a borrowed, flat-bottomed copra-boat, and returned late this evening when the tide was high again. We hear the laughing, shouting party as it returns across the lagoon and then as it straggles in a long line up the hill from the beach, children and adults excitedly talking among themselves. A little while later when we walk past Biukala's house all is silent. Young and

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old alike have simply flopped down on the soft matted floor and fallen soundly asleep.

Swift twilight, then darkness, closes round the village. The women potter round the houses attending to a few evening tasks before they follow the children to sleep. The men bathe and dress in cool, clean shirts and *vala*. Then they sit out of doors talking to friends or else, led by the rhythmic beating of stone on stone as *kava* is crushed, they find their way to a nearby house where a *kava*-circle is being formed. The night drifts by as they drink and talk, talk and drink. And the stars are already low in the sky when the circle breaks up. The men quietly make their way home. A baby stirs in a nightmare sleep or a dog barks excitedly at passing shadows. But, for a short time at least, the village is at rest waiting in suspense for another day to bring its hot sun and its round of common tasks.

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The tempo of village activity is speeded up before the week of Christmas and New Year. Two days before Christmas we made the following notes:

[533] There is a slowly-developing crescendo of excitement in the village as Christmas Day approaches. Every night for the past week the youths and maidens of the village have been practising until past midnight the songs that they are newly composing to sing about the village on Christmas Day. Those more talented who also possess some musical instrument are equally busy in tearing to shreds the quietness of a village evening. They have grouped themselves together in what is politely called a "string band." The noise that comes down wind suggests that this "band" consists of a number of reedy mouth organs, a lone guitar, and a violin with two of its three strings missing.

[534] For all the people the working-day starts very early. This morning at four a.m. for instance, the woman in the house nearest us was busy cutting the long grass about her house with the huge three-foot bush-knife that serves the villager for all purposes from a lawn-mower to nail cutter or razor. All four of her children, the oldest under six, frolicked joyfully about her, pursued by her anguished screams as they forgetfully frisked within danger distance of the swift-cutting knife.

[412] Equally industrious, the men have been going to their bush plantations at dawn and returning just before dusk with heavy loads of food. The women have put in long days washing clothes, cutting grass and sweeping up all the rubbish of months from their house sections. Everything must be neat and tidy for Christmas week.

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A few days after the New Year we summed up a week of village festivity as follows:

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Christmas and New Year have passed by quite uneventfully. Beyond feasting and much church-going on Christmas Day, the villagers have paid no special tribute to the memory of Christ's birth. They have been much more excited about New Year. The last day of the old year was a day marked by extra-large feasts and culminating in a two-hour church service which lasted from ten to midnight. All the local lay-preachers together with their pastor kept the service going at the Free Wesleyan church by taking turns in quarter-hour prayers or Bible lessons. The pastor had brought into the church two noisy clocks which ticked away on the pulpit. Punctually at midnight, the pastor climbed into the pulpit, cut short the interminable praying of one of the more verbal lay-preachers and himself led the congregation in a fluent and final outburst of prayer. Thereafter the congregation broke up into small and excited groups. Each saluted everyone else with a vigorous handshake and the Polynesian nose greeting. Then the meeting broke up and all went home.

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Each of the three Protestant churches welcomed the first minute of the New Year at different minutes. The three local pastors would have thought it undignified to synchronise their clocks during the day. As a result there was a range of at least thirty minutes between first and last New Year greeting—plenty of basis also for interdenominational discussion later on as to when New Year actually occurred.

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According to village custom the first week of the New Year is given over to rejoicing and thanks for the blessings of the year just finished. This thanksgiving has consisted of daily church-going, the interminable and almost continuous beating of wooden gongs by gangs of lads working in shifts, the eating of large quantities of food each day, interminable singing of church hymns each night by groups of adults and gangs of children, much sociable coming and going of groups of singers between one village and the next. The local "string band" has been on a constant perambulation of near and distant villages. Each visit has meant all-night kava drinking, eating, and playing of the five tunes that make up the band's repertoire. Voices have become hoarse, eyes red and puffy through lack of sleep; tempers are breaking easily through fatigue.

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We asked Biukala whether he had had a happy week. He replied that he had been happy for so many days that he was tired now of being happy any more. His most fervent wish was that the next week would come quickly that he might begin again his routine plantation work. His feelings were echoed

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by other villagers. A week of New Year festivity and celebration evidently performs the very useful function in village life of making plantation work appear highly desirable by contrast with the monotony of merry-making.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

644 General supervision over the whole of the island of Pangai because of its nature as a Royal estate is exercised by an overseer resident in Pangai village. His supervision is limited to a general care of all the lands comprising the estate to ensure that there is an adequate food-supply available for all the households of the village. He may report to government officials in Neiafu the names of those heads of households who, he considers, have not planted sufficient land to care for the needs of the household. Pressure and the threat of a possible jail-sentence would then be brought upon such men. Should it become desirable or possible to export more bananas or pineapples from Vava'u, then the overseer would hold a council of the men of the village and give a strong lead and direction to an increased planting programme. At all times the overseer seeks to prevent a wilful misuse of the land or a destruction of its values.

[744] Beyond this land-control, the duties of the overseer seem vague and ill-defined. He functions in the village at times as a sort of government representative. Official announcements of policy or government enactments generally filter through to the villagers from conversations or councils with the overseer. He is also responsible in theory for seeing that laws relating to public health (such a law for instance, as that which relates to the covering of cisterns from which drinking water is drawn) are observed, though in practice the Pangai overseer shows complete indifference to such responsibilities. He maintains a residence in Pangai and another in Neiafu. His duties as estate-overseer are somewhat complicated by the fact that he also functions actively as government pilot for the port of Neiafu. On the balance however, the overseer does add materially at times to the more efficient production of economic goods by the leadership he gives to agricultural activities.

[502] The work of production in the Tongan village may be carried on either by one man working by himself or else

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by a group of men or women working together. The lone worker going quietly about his job is decidedly not the preferred pattern of work-organization. The Tongan much prefers to work with one or two friends, or else as part of a larger group working-party. He apparently works much more effectively with the stimulus that comes from being a member of a group than from any individualistic idea of advancing his own interests at the expense of others. Thus from one point of view his working habits may not show a cold, functioning efficiency. This relative lack of efficiency however, as judged by European standards, is more than outweighed for the Tongan by the values associated with working with one's fellows. No matter what the Tongan man or woman is working at, whether exploring the reef or making mats, whether husking coconuts or planting in the bush, one will always find two or more people carrying on the task together. Or if one person only is working, others will be standing or sitting around gossiping, talking, joking about past or present events. The worker must work in or with a group. Otherwise he is lost, forlorn, and uneasy of mind.

The various kinds of working-parties are given names. Thus the family working-group consisting of relatives, is termed *tou kainga ngaue*; the women's mat-making party is *tou lalanga*; a small working partnership of men is called *tou ngaue*; a larger working group is *tou tu'u*. The first two groups do not need detailed description. The family group comes together in the plantation under the direction of the household head and carries on the common task of cultivation. The women's group meets at the house of one of the members and all spend the time making mats together; or else a large group of women meet by arrangement at a set time in the year at the village bark-cloth-making house and make bark cloth while the men of the village prepare special ovens of food for a feast when the work is finished.

The men's group called *tou ngaue* consists of a team of three men working together in a sort of partnership which may last from three or four days up to two weeks. The work done is generally planting or hoeing. On the first day the men work together in A's plantation, on the second day in B's garden and on the third day in C's garden, repeating

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461 the round of gardens until all the immediate work is finished.
 464 Food for the day is provided by the partner on whose land
 476 the work is being carried out. He generally prepares an oven
 571 to feed his companions.

461 This method of working is common village practice. In
 464 discussing it an informant threw certain human sidelights on
 476 work-habits which show how this type of partnership may
 571 sometimes function. This informant said he never worked
 124 in partnership with anyone. He believes he gets more done
 (183) by himself—it is obvious that he is not a true Tongan in this
 respect. The working partnership, he thinks, is merely a
 temptation to talk, rest, eat, and sleep rather than work.
 Some men are cunning in this respect. When the partners
 are working on A's field, A scorns all talk and insists on hard
 work for all three men. When in B's garden however, A
 thinks of the most wonderfully amusing stories to tell his
 companions and so little work is done by the end of the day.
 Informant mentioned the names of three men whom we had
 already observed to be a working partnership. Of the three,
 (157) only C was a hard worker. The other two were sophisticated
 and cunning with the result that hard-working C was doing
 in reality all the work for all three men. C apparently did
 not realize the situation. The three men were the best of
 friends and for many days on end were to be observed going
 to their plantations in the morning, returning together in the
 evening laughing and joking. It is obvious therefore that as
 long as the utmost amount of work is not the end of activity,
 the working-partnership can function to the satisfaction of
 its members and get enough work done to make such
 organization worth while.

461 The other type of men's working-party, the *tou tu'u*,
 476 functions when it is a matter of breaking-in virgin bush-
 464 land. The owner of the land gets together a group of from
 241 ten to twenty men. He assigns to each man a small section
 571 of the bush-land. Each man clears his own section and
 (431) generally plants it with yams. From the first harvest each
 man gives the owner of the land a present of from two to
 five yams and keeps the remainder for himself. Taro, *kape*,
 or sweet potato, may be planted instead of yams. After this
 (425) first year of cultivation the owner resumes full control of his
 cleared land and plants it exclusively for himself. Through

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the activities of the working-group he has had his land cleared in return for giving up one year's harvest from the land.

The owner of the land may also call together working-parties of friends and relatives for a day's work on his land whenever he wants to carry out some large-scale operation, such as clearing, planting, or making copra. From five to twenty men may help him with cultivation, or any number up to thirty men and women may participate in a copra-cutting group. The leader prepares a large feast in the bush consisting of staple foods together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken, as a token of thanks to the working group. Whenever a group works together, each for his own interests, the feast has no part, but working in the group serves to lighten the burden of work. Only when the working party has come together to work to the advantage of one of its members is food prepared and offered to the group as a return for services rendered.

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HOUSE-BUILDING

The villager wishing to build and own a Tongan-style house must first prepare large quantities of food for his workers and also large quantities of sennit (*kafa*) with which to fasten the house together. The preparations for a large house may take at least one year to complete. During this year pigs would be obtained and fattened, the requisite timbers and poles brought in from the plantations, sennit would be made and extra amounts of food-staples would be planted.

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Even for a smaller house at least six thousand feet of sennit is necessary. To prepare this, the prospective owner collects from his plantation about one hundred coconuts of the *niu kafa* variety (nuts with an especially long husk). He is assisted by several of his friends whom he feeds while working with him. The nuts are husked and the husks placed in a large, specially prepared oven. This oven is about eight feet long, eight feet wide, and three to four feet deep. The bottom is lined with stones and further stones are placed on top of the wood. After the wood has burnt down, the coconut husks are placed in the oven, the oven

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342 closed, and the husks baked for about four days. Then the
283 oven is opened, the husks removed and buried in the reef
shallows for a further three or four days. Then the husks
are placed on a wooden base and pounded with a wooden
pounder until all the inter-fibrous material is removed. The
fibres are dried and are now ready for braiding.

342 The braiding is done by a working-party consisting of
283 men and women who are invited to a *kava* party. The fibres
464 are rolled on the thigh or sole of the foot and are made into
476 three-ply braid. Half a dozen men and women, working
industriously will probably braid up to one hundred fathoms
in a long evening's work. Until the required amount is
finished, the prospective owner will use all his spare time
braiding this sennit.

342 If the house is to be well built and something to be proud
335 of, it is necessary to engage the services of an expert builder
463 to supervise the building, lay out the framework, fit the poles
and beams securely and neatly, and to tie the more orna-
mental and complicated lashings. If such an expert is not a
relative, he is given today for his services a gift of perhaps
[465] two pounds in cash for a one-fathom house, six pounds for a
two-fathom house and proportionately more for a larger
house. The size of the house is referred to in terms of the
length of the rectangular central portion of the house,
excluding the extra length provided by the apsidal ends.
[461] A two-fathom house may take some two weeks to build if
the work is carried on without major interruptions. If the
expert is a member of the household or a relative, he would
expect only a gift of a large pig together with food-staples
for his services.

342 The heavy work of building and thatching together with
464 all minor jobs are carried out by a working-party made up
476 of members of the household, relatives, and friends. The
workers are fed generously by the house-owner. Women
make all the thatching-sheets, wall-mats and floor-mats.
They also help prepare the food for the workers. The
division of labour and the organization of work are such
that many are called upon to help before the structure is at
last completed.

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FISHING

The villagers in Pangai do not have either easy or quick access to good fishing-grounds other than the nearby reefs. This is the reason why fishing does not bulk so largely in the work-activities of the men as it does in those of other villages. A few of the men most interested fish fairly consistently, selling their surplus fish to other households of the village. The majority of the men however, think fishing too onerous a job. They buy fish or canned meat when they have the ready money. For the rest of the time they subsist on a meatless diet. These men are of course still well aware of the various fishing-techniques. Some of these fishing-methods are mentioned in this section in order to show something of the ways in which the villager is able to use working-party methods to gain a desired end, to show also the survival of a few magical beliefs in this type of activity.

Shark-fishing is still the most organized of all fishing-methods. Typically, six or more men go in a cutter to the place called Matahina, off the coast of Vava'u proper, recognized as the best shark-fishing bed. Twenty dry coconut-husks have been fastened on a long wire. At Matahina the expert fisherman in charge (*toutai*) drops these husks into the water and jangles them together as he intones an ancient incantation calling on Hina to send sharks. If sharks approach but then disappear again, he uses another incantation to allay their coyness. If no sharks appear after repeated calls, the attempt is made again in other parts of the fishing-beds. When sharks appear round the cutter, a noose is slipped into the water, salt meat is spread in front of the noose and the effort made to draw the noose tight over the shark as it darts after the bait. A successful expedition will often catch many sharks by this method. Should the expedition be unsuccessful, the expert fisherman knows that someone back in the village has disturbed or interfered with his *falesiu* or "shark-house." This is a closed container—an empty kerosene tin, a box, a marine shell, or even a house—which the expert has designated as the "shark-house" for the expedition. This designation has rendered the container *tapu*. It has either been hidden if small, or ostensibly

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services of the expert are called in. This fishing is planned for the night of the full moon. Six or seven days before this time, the men of the village are called together by the expert. Each man is asked to provide from ten to fifteen coconut-sheets. During the day of the full moon, the men drive a row of stakes across the exit to a wide shallow bay. To these stakes the *pola* are tied, two deep generally being sufficient. As the full moon comes up the tide will be high. The expert and others with boats float about inside the netted area catching the fish that jump into the boats. The remainder of the fishermen stand round outside the nets. Calico sheets are fastened to the tops of the *pola* and as the frightened fish try to leap over the obstructions, they are caught in these sheets. The people make as much noise as possible to frighten the fish. At a given signal from the expert, made when the tide is quite low, all the fishermen jump inside the closed arc and catch as many fish as they can. This type of fishing is carried out from November to March. Huge catches are often made. The occasion is looked upon as one of great fun. Young and old join in the sport, making as much noise as they can and enjoying the frantic excitement as the trapped fish struggle from grasping hands. (226) (821) (821)

Large quantities of herring are sometimes caught by a similar use of coconut-leaf traps together with the addition of a fish-poisoning substance. This fish-poisoning is the crushed leaves and stalks of a shrub known as *kavahaha*. A circle of coconut *pola* is formed. At a signal from the expert fisherman in charge, the mouth of this circle is closed by men who beat the waters and drive the fish into the trap. Women round the circle throw the poisoning inside. The fish quickly become stupefied and are easily caught. (221) (461) (824)

Hook and line fishing is carried on from canoes by one or more men. Trolling from a canoe is often successful in the months from September to December. Flying-fish netting is not a known method of fishing today. Some men in Pangai know the techniques for bonito-fishing and the beds off Vava'u where there is more likelihood of catching bonito from December to March. But bonito-fishing is no longer carried out. One informant mentioned Niuafo'ou as the only place today where old Tongan methods of catching bonito were still in use. (221) (178)

226 Fishing with a fish-basket is still sometimes practised
by a few Pangai men. Some four men in the village know
(285) the technique of plaiting this basket from the twigs and small
branches of the *kavahaka* shrub (used also for fish poison).
The basket is about six feet in diameter, three feet deep, with
a narrow mouth. Whenever this basket is not in use, its
mouth must be kept stuffed with leaves; otherwise it will
catch no fish. The basket is used as follows: Stone sinkers
and bait of sea-porcupine are placed inside. It is then
dropped in about ten fathoms of water and marked by a float.
After some hours, it is pulled to the surface with its enclosed
load of fish.

226 Of all fishing methods however, the one most used today
262 in Pangai is that of reef-fishing by the women at low tide.
Armed with baskets and sticks, the women wade slowly over
the reef-shallows hunting for edible reef-creatures. There
are at least sixty of these named creatures and plants that
are eaten. They range all the way from seaweeds to shell-fish,
from jelly-fish to octopus, from crabs to sea porcupines
and sea-slugs. These reef-expeditions combine work with
(461) pleasure. A group of women and girls spend hours on end
wandering over the reefs, chattering and laughing among
themselves, stopping occasionally to eat a particularly fat
and juicy sea-slug, returning at last to the village loaded
down with heavy baskets of food.

226 Compared with the numerous fishing-techniques and
178 large bodies of fishing-lore that are known and used, even
today, by some of the other Polynesian peoples, it is evident
that for the Pangai villager fishing is largely a lost art. This
would not apply to other Tongan villages where there is easy
and direct access to adjacent fishing-beds. The Pangai man
seems largely to have given up the effort to obtain fish in
quantity. He greatly enjoys fish when he can get it, whether
by his own efforts, by gift, or by purchase. Fishing today
(461) with him however, is a side-line activity. Most of his
working time is spent in his gardens and cultivations.

BARK CLOTH MANUFACTURE

287 The making of bark cloth (*ngatu*) is a good example
of the manner in which the men and women of Pangai
combine to carry out a group-activity. Bark cloth still has

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many uses in Pangai. Each household keeps an adequate amount on hand to meet all possible emergencies. It is still largely used as bedding and is a necessity for any of the more formal gift-occasions. It is *tapu* to make bark cloth during a mourning period set for a chief, noble, or for members of the royal family. This *tapu* mourning period ranges from two to three months for a minor noble up to at least six months for a great noble and a period of more than a year after the death of royalty. No bark cloth may be made until someone in authority, the governor of Vava'u for instance, or the son of the deceased noble, notifies the village overseer that the mourning period is at an end. The overseer in turn relays this information to the women of the village.

A few women may meet together informally to make bark cloth near the house of the leader of the group. The more formal groups however, meet in a special house in the centre of the village which was built for the making of bark cloth and is used for no other purpose. This house is in European style. It was built about twelve years ago, all the households in the village contributing the required money, material, and labour. When such a formal party is organized, the women proceed to the bush to collect bark and dye-materials. These are obtained by each woman from mulberry-trees and dye-plants growing on the plantation of her husband or another relative. About three days later, after these materials have been prepared for use, the women meet together in the public house (*fale kautaha*). There they are addressed by the village overseer who urges the women to work hard, to work quietly and to avoid scandalous or quarrelsome talk. Women from other villages may be invited by their Pangai friends to come and assist in the work. Each visitor assists the woman who has been responsible for her invitation.

The men meanwhile prepare large ovens of food together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken. After the women have beaten out a specified length of bark cloth (any length from four to forty fathoms, as agreed upon), they notify the men who thereupon open the ovens and serve the food. The women eat again after a further specified length of cloth has been completed. The work proceeds quickly under the stimulus of group activity. A group of say, sixteen women

287 A group of say, sixteen women
 464 will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark
 571 cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided
 461 among all the women who shared in the work. Each house-
 (433) hold tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth
 always on hand. This supply should last the household from
 one to four years, depending upon the size of the household,
 the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and
 the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

287 The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job.
 531 There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today.
 (435) In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to
 (426) five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the
 required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their
 return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty
 fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value
 of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide
 variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox
 flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs
 which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan
 flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many
 (178) women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils.
 They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-
 painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth
 (386) give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today
 (178) some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less
 troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye
 these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared
 with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

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The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough
 floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the
 mats which function as skirts (*vala*)¹⁰ to be worn on occasions

291 ¹⁰ The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt"
 292 (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic
 285 association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton
 piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging
 from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men
 fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear,
 with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and
 (576) women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when
 respect and humility require symbolization.

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when respect is due to a superior. The materials are pandanus-leaves. The plaiting technique is typically Polynesian. The finest mats worn as *vala* (*ta'o vala fala*) are very scarce in Pangai today. They are about eight feet by six feet in size and plaited with twelve to fourteen elements to the inch. Such mats take an ordinarily industrious woman from two to three years to complete. Few Pangai women seem to have either the skill or the patience to make these mats today. They have therefore a great scarcity value. They are worn only on Sundays, special festive occasions or when meeting a superior. When not in use they are kept in safe, secret places to avoid any possibility of theft.

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Many of the fine mats worn today have been inherited. Thus one woman has inherited hers from her mother's mother and expects in turn to pass it on to her own daughter. Both men and women wear these fine mats fastened with a length of braided or twisted sennit termed *ta'o vala kafa*. The sennit is worn round the waist on top of the mat. There appears to be no single and specific technique for making this sennit "belt." Each man makes his according to what skill he has at his command.

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As the fine mats become rarer still in the village, it is likely that there will be developed some new material through the use of which respect may be symbolized. Possibly one of the finer and more expensive commercial cloths will be adapted to this end and will become as necessary an item of clothing as the fine mat is today.

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EXPERTS

For most of the work activities of this Tongan village no more expert knowledge is required than is possessed by the average man or woman. He or she is capable of doing the task that is required or of acting as leader of group-work. Some types of work however, require the leadership and direction of a recognized expert (generically, *tufunga*), one who has special knowledge, acquired through training, of the relatively complex techniques involved. In Pangai today there are four recognized experts in the making of European-style houses, one expert in the building of Tongan houses; one expert undertaker; four expert dug-out canoe makers; two experts in the art of making the built-up plank-canoe;

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[461] dyes will not be acquired until the time of marriage. Mat-plaiting is a somewhat tedious job, according to the testimony of village women. Many girls and young women only take on the responsibility of making household mats when there are no other older women in the group to do the job. Post-adolescent boys and girls generally learn to make sennit. Finer skills, such as net-making, may be learned at any age depending upon necessity or interest.

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463 In almost all cases the young person learns economic skills from members of his household, from close relatives, or friends. Special skills may be picked up as opportunity offers from anyone available. Thus, of the four expert net-makers in Pangai, one man learned from a friend whom he visited in another village, a second man learned from a chance visitor from another village whom he met at a Pangai *kava*-circle, and two further women learned subsequently from this latter Pangai man. In both cases the women seem to have acquired the skill because male relatives showed interest in net-fishing and desired nets for themselves.

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872 The necessities of formal education in the three "R's" which affect all Tongan children up to the age of fourteen years do not seem to interfere greatly with the native processes of economic education. There is a one-room school-house in Pangai with practically none of that equipment that would be considered essential in even the poorest European school. The present schoolteacher is a native of the neighbouring village of Utungake who comes to Pangai each day for the school-session. School hours are short, vacations are long. The school-work (teaching is in the vernacular) is certainly not arduous or exacting, judged in terms of demanded efficiency and prescribed standards. There are plenty of opportunities for school-children to help and work with their parents and thus to acquire the minimum techniques of earning a living from the Tongan soil. At no time did any parents complain of an interference by school-demands with today's normal functioning of Tongan culture in relation to the progressive socialization of the Pangai child. A few of the youth who graduate from the village-school may continue their education at a government or mission college in Tongatapu. These would be the youth whose
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[464] parents might foresee certain advantages to be inherent

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way abnormal. All days were days of hard work in the gardens following the working-lull of Christmas and New Year holidays. They were also days of sometimes heavy rain. This also increased the agricultural tempo because a wet soil makes both planting and cultivation easier. On one day only of these sixteen was there no *kava*-making. For the remaining fifteen days altogether forty-five *kava*-parties were held: eight in the morning, sixteen in the afternoon and twenty-one in the evening. The houses at which the parties were held is shown in the following Table 12.

TABLE 12.—FREQUENCY OF KAVA PARTIES AT VARIOUS HOUSEHOLDS.

Household Head	PARTIES			
	Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Total
Koloamatangi	2	3	4	9
Tevita	2	—	1	3
Ofa	2	—	—	2
Puaka	1	2	2	5
Pili	1	3	—	4
Biukala	—	3	2	5
Halahingano	—	1	—	1
Talivakaola	—	1	—	1
Afu	—	2	1	3
Eneti	—	1	2	3
Heu	—	—	2	2
Hausia	—	—	5	5
Tapaka	—	—	2	2
Total	8	16	21	45

It will be noted from this table that certain houses are more popular than others as meeting places. The relative popularity of a house seems to depend upon its largeness, its coolness, its relative freedom from mosquitoes, the likelihood of finding interesting company there, the frequency with which the household-head himself begins the party, the presence among the household members of a young girl adept at *kava*-making, the general hospitality or tolerance of the household-head to late hours (some evening parties continue until an early hour of the next morning, even until daylight), and finally, the extent to which the youth of the village are using the *kava*-party as an opportunity to court the girl of a particular household. All the houses in which

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574 four or more parties were held during the sixteen day period
 342 were large; the one in which nine were held is the large
 592 house of the village overseer—men drift in there to pick up
 584 any late gossip, to discuss island affairs; Biukala's house is
 571 large and cool with a spacious verandah where the party
 could continue even though the household-head retired to an
 inner room to sleep; in Hausia's house, the eldest daughter,
 besides being a skilled *kava*-maker, was an attraction to the
 village youth.

574 Most of the morning and afternoon parties were small
 461 and were held at the houses of elderly men (three of them
 church-pastors, one the village overseer) not actively
 engaged in daily agricultural work. The evening parties
 were much larger and usually attended by the men who had
 been gardening and working during the day. *Kava*-parties
 are regularly held after Sunday mid-morning church and
 dinner. They are also customary in the afternoons when
 the men feel that the seasonal agricultural work is such that
 a morning's work only in the bush plantations is sufficient.
 (276) Visitors to a household from another village are always
 offered *kava* as a gesture of welcome.

276 The roots used for making the *kava* may either be
 432 bought in the village store or else obtained from the planta-
 (249) tion. The *kava*-plant is slow growing. Not all men have
 276 the patience to plant, wait for maturity, then dry properly.
 Note was made of those contributing *kava*-root to the parties.
 Some twenty men contributed: nine men once each, five men
 twice each, five men from four to six times each, and one
 276 man fifteen times. This last man is generally considered
 574 to be the foremost *kava*-drinker in the village, something of
 521 an addict in fact, whose consistent and frequent attendance
 (875) at *kava*-parties is a matter for village gossip. The gossip
 is tempered slightly by the fact that the addict is a school-
 teacher who can support his household to a large degree by
 his small monetary income and rely upon the services of his
 father to look after the household gardens.

574 Frequency of attendance at parties is shown by the next
 table.

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 (461) sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden, the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava* before going to sleep.

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 (76) Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks *kava* several times daily. His own house is small and unsuitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous and malevolent evil spirits (*tevolo*) that haunt the bush after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in which to leave a wife and small children without adult male protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband. Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household is poor in every respect.

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 (671) This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have become an addict because of certain personality difficulties which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatisfactory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain by noticing the results when some of the more daring young men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this happen.)

681 "And did you flog women by order of Mr Baker?" I
797 asked.

645 Ula fumbled in his waistband, and produced a tiny
697 green-paper book, printed in Tongan, and pointed to the
words, "It shall be lawful to flog any prisoner guilty of
unruly conduct." Then turning over the pages he showed
me the signature at the foot, "MISA BEIKA." They were
the Prison Regulations, and I at once annexed them for
future study. "There is nothing there forbidding me to
beat women," continued Ula, "so I beat them when they
were unruly, and Mr Baker knew that I did and said
nothing. It is not forbidden in our customs." It ap-
peared that the story of the women being flogged had
been carried to Auckland by one of the ships-of-war, and
the fallen Premier wanted to clear his character by an
affidavit from a Tongan jailer.

681 As the right to punish was vested in the jailer, it was
697 of course not used against those who had taken the pre-
caution of winning his favour. There was in fact no dis-
cipline, and the prisoners were fast becoming a source of
public danger.

696 Yet smooth as was the life of a Tongan malefactor, no
[46] Tongan likes work; and since it was so easy to escape, it
became fashionable to steal boats and set sail for Samoa
or Fiji. There was a spice of adventure and danger about
such an escape that exactly suits a Tongan. They suffered
sometimes. Joje, who reached Lakemba in an open boat
in 1886, would have died of hunger in another twelve
hours. Two men who sailed from Niuafouu were never
again heard of. On the other hand, several such attempts
were successful. The men who stole the Government

POSTSCRIPT.

MANY things happen in three years. My narrative should properly have ended where I have left it; but, since circumstances have combined to defer its publication, I cannot pass over all that has happened since 1891. I left Tonga clear of her embarrassments, with a strong popular Government, and every promise of prosperity. In 1894 she is divided in her councils, suspicious of her rulers, and financially unsound. Her destiny depended upon the wisdom of the king's advisers. It was too much to hope that, without any European assistance, a native Government could steer clear of difficulties; but I hoped, at least, that the lessons of economy they had learnt so painfully would ensure the native Cabinet against living beyond their means. When I left, Mr Moss was appointed clerk to the Premier, and for a time all went well. In December 1891 there was a balance of £8000 in the treasury, after all debts had been discharged. Then came a series of disasters. Mr Moss died, and there was keen competition for his vacant place. While they were still wrangling and intriguing, the king was taken suddenly ill, and after only four days' illness he died on February 18, 1893. He had alarmed them so often with his sudden seizures that the blow came upon the people almost unprepared. They had come to look upon their king of ninety-six as immortal. Even the oldest of them could not remember a time when George Tubou was not a central figure in the country. All work came to an end. The cocoa-nuts lay unhusked upon the ground for months:

349 the very large stones used in the old structures have been
 172 quarried; but, on the other hand, no systematic search may
 316 have been made. Traditionary evidence, however, is suffi-
 316 ciently strong to warrant the belief that some at least of the
 stones were brought from distant islands, notably Uvea.

349 All these imposing structures are incontrovertible evi-
 643 dence of power. They were possible only to kings at whose
 461 command was a practically unlimited supply of labour. The
 461 population of the islands may have been little, if any,
 461 greater, than at present, but the king must have had the un-
 questioned right to the labour of every man. The fragment
 quoted above indicates such a right extending over a very
 much larger area than the present Tongan group. Despotism
 773 power can accomplish much. A tradition relates that two
 461 chiefs, brothers, were engaged in hauling a huge stone,
 461 which the labourers found quite beyond their strength.
 Night fell, but the stone had not been moved. In the dark-
 ness the brothers took counsel together, and, when the work
 was resumed on the morrow, threatened with death any
 man who did not pull satisfactorily. The threat was efficaci-
 ous, and "the stone ran" into its place, as the Tongan
 idiom has it.

REMOVAL OF KINGS TO MUA.

173 The two sons of Tui-ta-tui initiated an important change.
 643 They were interested in boats, and each possessed a large
 643 canoe. Heketa was ill-provided with anchorages, and they
 shifted their abode nearer to the centre of the north coast of
 Tongatabu, to the present Mua, or Lapaha (equivalent to
 Lambasa in Fiji), where they found safe shelter for their
 boats. Henceforth this site was the abode of the Tui Tonga
 349 and his court. Here are the *langi*, burial vaults, so well
 764 known to the modern sight-seer. These vaults stand in a
 766 long row, with isolated ones scattered about. The earliest
 probably dates from about the thirteenth century. The
 finest of these, with corners of immense single blocks hewn
 into right angles, stands nearer the sea than the main
 row of *langi*. It is associated with the name of Telea, who
 belongs to about the beginning of the seventeenth century;
 but its position suggests the probability that its erection be-
 longs to the reign of an earlier king. There have been very
 recent interments in this *langi*. It should be remarked that
 highly competent Tongan authority asserts that the kings

241 Before the civil wars he used to live on his farm, but today it may be
 ● [461] some distance from his home in the village. Four days' not too strenuous
 work a week is usually enough to provide for his family's needs.
 A few friends may join together to do work on each other's farms, but
 arrangements of this sort are quite irregular.

241 About half of a typical farm consists of an unkempt area devoted to
 311 the permanent cultivation of coconuts, and the remainder of a number
 of small plots cleared from a general area of bush and weeds. Less than
 half of it will be in use at any time since spelling is practised to conserve
 241 fertility. Yams, bananas, and corn are planted on the better land, as
 are the tapa trees, a species of mulberry from whose bark the women
 fashion a coarse cloth. Taros thrive on less fertile soil, while kumalas
 and tapioca do well on comparatively poor land. Bananas and tapa
 trees are left to grow for three years on the same spot, but the food
 plants are shifted every year. Intermingled with these major crops may
 be found pineapples, paw-paws, breadfruit, mangoes, kava, tobacco,
 cotton, chillies, ginger, candlenuts, citrus fruits and a few European
 vegetables. Somewhere on the holding it is usual to raise sugar cane
 for thatch, reeds for house walls, pandanus for mats and baskets, and
 various shrubs for scents and dyes.

A farmer in Tonga Tabu will have about 250 yams, 200 tapioca
 plants, 100 kumalas, 100 banana trees, and 50 pineapple plants. These
 figures are fairly typical for the whole Kingdom but some variations
 occur. In Ha'apai holdings are smaller and more carefully cultivated,
 with fewer yams and more tapioca; in Vavau there are fewer kumalas
 but more breadfruit and corn; in the Niua breadfruit replaces yams as
 the major food crop.

231 Primarily an agriculturalist, the Tongan makes little use of animals.
 He keeps perhaps half-a-dozen fowls, three or four pigs, and occasionally
 [492] a goat or cow for butchering rather than for milking. Usually he owns
 a horse but does not use it for any farm work except carting. Sheep
 262 are not raised at all. To relieve the monotony of a largely vegetarian
 diet he resorts mainly to fish, which is plentiful everywhere.

434 For a moderate amount of work, then, the Tongan's allotment
 provides him with food, housing materials, tapa cloth, mats and baskets.
 241 Besides these necessities it affords him a few small luxuries such as kava,
 tobacco, scents, dyes, and native substitutes for soap. When he requires
 434 cash to pay taxes or rent, to meet Church subscriptions, or to buy a
 few store goods, he has only to harvest some of his copra or bananas.

MANNER OF ARRIVAL OR DEPARTURE. 51

was driven straight toward an island, upon which a landing was safely effected in the course of the night. On the following morning, according to custom, the crew assembled to partake of a funeral feast in memory of their lost comrade; but while the repast was still proceeding, to their great amazement the man himself suddenly appeared among them. Incredible as it may seem, he had actually kept himself afloat during the whole of the night, and being carried by the sea and wind in the track of the canoe, he had, as by a miracle, reached the same shore, in time to do what few beside himself have ever done—partake of his own burial feast!

On making the land, as well as in starting upon a voyage, the crew enliven the occasion by chanting, in full chorus, one or other of their pleasing, though monotonous, *Tauaalo*, or sea-songs. When within a short distance of the shore the anchor is dropped, or, failing the possession of an anchor, one of the crew dives overboard with a long pole in his hand, the end of which he either fixes into a crevice of the coral rock, or he bores it into the loose sand; and to it the canoe is moored. A busy scene then takes place. The first operation is that of landing the huge sail. For this purpose a number of the crew jump overboard; and the end of the sail having been laid upon the shoulders of the first man, each in succession takes a part in bearing it aloft above the surface of the water; and thus it is carried safely on shore. If no small canoe be at hand to convey the passengers to the land, each makes for the shore the best way that he can. The common people wade or swim, while the chiefs are carried either upon a broad plank or on the

137 probably they will be found to correspond with those observed by Dr. Seemann in Fiji.* Some of the sorts have their seeds disconnected in the cotton-pod, while others have them compacted together at its core. There is an excellent variety of the genuine Sea-Island plant, or *Gossypium Barbadosense*. Cotton from this, as well as from the other sorts, was submitted, some years since, for examination by competent authorities in England. In their opinion, no staple of finer or better quality could be produced in any part of the world; although the specimens submitted were brought, promiscuously, from trees growing wild in the bush. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt as to the cotton-growing capabilities of these islands. The saline humidity, and equable temperature of the climate, with the proximity of the plant to the sea, in addition to the most extraordinary fertility of the soil, are all advantages of which the cotton-grower is well aware. But there are certain practical difficulties, that will always prevent these islands yielding any very large supply of this article, so essential to the necessities of British life and commerce.

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181 First of all, the limited area of the different islands will not admit of the establishment of any very large or numerous plantations; and secondly, there will always be a serious difficulty in obtaining the requisite amount of native labour, to work such plantations as might be cultivated. The people are not really an idle race; but so abundant are the natural resources, from which their wants are supplied, that they feel very independent, in regard to wages obtained in return for time

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* Dr. Seemann's "Viti," p. 50.

NATIVE IDEAS OF LABOUR.

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and manual labour. They will, most cheerfully, barter and sell, to foreigners, the produce of their own labour; but they have a great aversion to work for wages or hire. This aversion does not arise, solely, from a fear that the results of their industry might become, at any moment, the property of their superiors. To a great extent all such fears are now needless, the feudal vassalage of the lower orders having been recently abolished by law. But there is, in the mind of the Tonguese, a deep-rooted pride, and a love of freedom from all restraint upon individual time or actions, in consequence of which the very commoners cannot bear to be thought, or to be called, any man's servant. Like the lower orders of true-born Americans, they are willing to be "helpers," on their own conditions, and according to their own fancies, but never servants. Even those who become domesticated in the families of Missionaries, however much they may be remunerated, call themselves "helps;" (*kau tokoni*;) and the service rendered is from love, and not on account of obligation on the ground of payment. The natives always look with suspicion upon any schemes involving the large employment of labour, from an idea that their individual effort, devoted to the production of what is wanted, on their own personal account, will yield a better return than the mere wages they might receive from an employer. They look upon him as one trying to enrich himself at their expense. These contracted views can only become modified, or be destroyed altogether, by a longer, and more perfect acquaintance, with the usages of civilized life, in regard to the honourable nature of voluntary, and properly remunerated, labour. This change will also be accelerated

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464[565]
[671]177
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177 by the pressure of newly felt, and increasing neces-
 181 sities, arising from an extended intercourse with
 461 foreigners. But in the mean time these native
 464 prejudices must stand in the way of any scheme,
 of commercial enterprise, involving the employ-
 ment of many hands.

313 In concluding our brief enumeration of the prin-
 cipal natural products of Tonga, it may be sufficient
 to say, that all the best islands contain trees
 which yield good timber for building purposes;
 but, both in variety and quantity, the supply is
 [185] limited. The natives take no pains whatever to
 increase the stock of timber-yielding trees, in those
 localities that are adapted to their habits. There
 are, it is true, certain stringent regulations respect-
 ing the felling of timber; but there is at the same
 time an unnecessary and reckless waste of what
 313 nature herself affords. The best and largest trees
 824 are used in the construction of canoes. *Bobaos*,
 396 the smallest class of paddling canoes, are always
 cut out of single trees. *Tafaagas*, the beautiful
 and swift canoes that are employed in fishing for
 the bonito and albacore, and also the *hamatefuas*,
 or sailing canoes having only a single hull and
 large outrigger, are all built of planking, in the
 same style as the large *kalias*. These two classes
 of canoes, being required in considerable numbers,
 involve a great waste of valuable wood, inasmuch
 as only two, or, at most, three planks can be ob-
 tained, from a single tree, by the native method
 of cutting.

313 The *tamanu*; (*Calophyllum Burmanni*;) the
 137 *milo*; (*Thespesia populnea*;) the *futu*; (*Barring-*
tonia speciosa;) the *mohemohe*; the *fetau*; and the
tavahi, are the trees from which good and durable

186

621 many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the
794 success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents.
798 Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the
Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation
of particular individuals merely because they belong to the
Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who
show little involvement at all in the activities of any
congregation than they are of any persons for being
adherents of a particular denomination.

Church Membership and Status-striving

Activities

794 It is a religious duty to participate in congrega-
795 tional and denominational activities, with damnation in
[624] the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions
[59] for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational
activities are important social events, providing an arena
within which individuals engage in status-striving
activities.

602 The majority of village women, of all denominations,
562 spend most of their free time among kin, either at their
[512] own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen.

• [461] When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women
of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will
562 form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men

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794 knew of five instances in Motulahi in 1969 in which men
562 became partners for a season of watermelon growing, and
476 in four cases they were members of the same congregation.

[N64] Similarly, a senior member of the Roman Catholic
congregation, who owns one of the packing sheds in the
village, generally employs only members of his own
[602] congregation when he requires assistance. If these
[591] associates are also kinsmen, so much the better, for he
is then also gaining merit by being a patron to his
kinsmen and binding them to him; but the kin tie is not
794 essential. In contrast to this, women have a reverse

562 order of priorities in choosing associates. For example,
602
461 if a woman organizes a day of tapa-painting, women of her
famili will form the basis of the work party, supplemented
in some instances by non-kinwomen who are linked to her
as neighbors or as members of her congregation.

794 The emphasis on associating with men of one's own
562 congregation is due to the fact that the local congregation
591 is the major arena of prestige-acquisition for men. A man
who seeks to increase his standing in the village cannot
hope to do so without the participation and support of his
[571] fellow congregants. A feast giver, for example, must be
associated with respectable people who he can invite to his
feasts, so that he can gain the prestige that is to be
[571] derived from these displays. The higher the status of his

932]

[1777]
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[July

301 cylindrical bits of ivory¹ about three inches long, introduc'd at one
 237 hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd
 304 with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric,
 302 with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same
 manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing
 seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to
 515 procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to
 serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of
 them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they
 are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity
 obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut
 302 shells of fresher water pour'd over them to wash it off. They are
 immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great
 quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders
 but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity,
 and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to
 conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to
 receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however
 [565] is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of
 [296] people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more
 frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see
 them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think
 that could not be done.

● 461 Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most
 sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so
 laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to
 degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their
 country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to
 be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circum-
 stances is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to
 their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never inter-
 rupted by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till
 462 satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the
 women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done
 462 in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is
 285 wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts
 seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or
 eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and
 [824] many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the
 [245] tough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they
 [248] wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

¹ Whale tooth.

1777]

TOOLS AND HANDICRAFTS

[939

rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. 484
 As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at 502
 some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath, 821
 matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of 252
 hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage.
 The number of people, amongst which are always several women,
 being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat 505
 implies some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of 461
 each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a 593
 perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle
 from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers them-
 selves join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to
 their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or 412
 rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but 321
 some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks 237
 tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid
 over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a
 handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent 346
 with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical 348
 production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them,
 for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which
 reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which
 are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that
 cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves
 after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except 412
 different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that 237
 require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles
 being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The
 Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though 283
 not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a 824
 quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which
 the larger rop[c]s are made by many of these being tied together and
 twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the 226
 and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it 283
 almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large
 and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd
 on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell, 321
 but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both 391
 commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others

¹ Tou, not the *Malochia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

1777]

THE TONGAN LANGUAGE

[1047

192

presently	anai	Make me a present	mai mea
now	anai-cencee		mogoo
Co-haiia?	What's this	go & bring it	aroo-omai
Mogoo		to come again	be-haw-aw
doogoobe }	a Gift or to give	to smell	manava
Stone	Phee-emooa	Yes!	ee-o
white	Heena	No!	ekai
red	goola	I	aw
black or blue	ooree	You	coi
Here	enee	He	ee-e
sit down	anofa	Give or reach me	mai
below	lalo	Let me see	momada
to look	dugeedooa	Beads	Ha-howa
Raw	oda-mada	To trade	Fu-kattaw
Ripe	mo-moho	to give	Fu-kafatai
many	loogoodan-	Venereal Disease	Pabanga
	galahee	to cut	Daffa
a few	loogoodanga-	a term of disapprobation	} ee-sah
	jee	in common use among	
Cold	anoofea	them	
Hot	vela	Sick	mahagee
high	fooa	well or in health	Mo-ooi
to kiss	oomma		
well done	Maree-eh	1 2 3 4	
Thank you	manoo	Taha ewa doroo fa	
Come here	Haw	5 6 7 8	
Go away	Aroo	neema ono feedoo varoo	
I have none	Ogooi-cai	9 10	
		civa ongofooroo	

N. One of the following Lines the Girls frequently sing at the same time smacking the Finger and Thumb together

533
534

Doo seea sau neea daw fai ojee-mai

Sooe la soo-ee, eh langeemai langee-eh

Edoomelageea fucatabageea langeed-emelama langeedödö

The following words they repeat in their common Dances

[535]

Aina fogee aina fogee &c

These Words the Men sung altogether on approaching the Ship in their large Sailing Canoes

[648]
[609]

Edareeäh edagödö &c

These monosyllables they use in hoisting the Sail of the Canoe as a direction for all to exert their Force together

[461]

ee ö yä eh &c

[476 cont.]

175 The labour
433 of the natives is therefore greater than that of the Tahitians, and
311 accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate
171 division of property. It is likewise to this source we must ascribe
423 it, that they have always set a higher value on their provisions
175 than on their tools, dresses, ornaments, and weapons, though
435 many of these must have cost them infinite time and application.

They very justly conceive the articles of food to be their principal

175 riches, of which the loss is absolutely not to be remedied. If we
142 observed their bodies more slender and their muscles harder than
461 those of the Tahitians, this seems to be the consequence of a

175 greater and more constant exertion of strength. Thus, perhaps, they
461 become industrious by force of habit, and when agriculture does not
433 occupy them, they are actuated to employ their vacant hours in the
fabrick of that variety of tools and instruments on which they

175 bestow so much time, patience, labour, and ingenuity. This industrious
181 turn has also led them, in the cultivation of all their arts, to so
[171] much greater perfection than the [477] Tahitians. By degrees they
have hit upon new inventions, and introduced an active spirit and

175 enlivening cheerfulness even into their amusements. Their happiness
181 of temper they preserve under a political constitution, which does
642 not appear to be very favourable to liberty; but we need not go so
far from home to wonder at such a phaenomenon, when one of the most
enslaved people in all Europe, are characterised as the merriest

[651] and most facetious of mankind. Still there may be more sincerity
in the cheerfulness of the natives of Tonga-Tabboo; for, exclusive
of great and almost servile submission, their king does not seem
to exact any thing from them, which by depriving them of the means

241 planted is usually of less importance than the first and so on until the land is returned to fallow status. A typical garden sequence is yam ('ufi), perhaps two crops in succession of taro (talo), and then cassava (manioke) is planted until the plot is exhausted. The amount of care given a garden is an indication not only of the amount of care a certain crop might need, but also indicates the social value derivable from that crop. Thus yams receive more care than taro, and so on.

[412] All gardening done in Puke is accomplished with the use of three hand tools: the ubiquitous bush knife, the push hoe, and a long-handled spade. Fallow periods plus whatever nutrients the soil might receive from burning the brush before a first planting are the only aids utilized to refurbish the soil. Commercial fertilizers provided free by [654] the Agricultural Board are, however, now being used on palms. Usually no effort is made to prevent wandering animals from a garden and pigs sometimes do extensive damage.

[731] In some years droughts threaten crops in the dry, cool months from [132] May to November, but irrigation is not practiced and is not practical [312] because of limited sources of water.

241 Most garden work is accomplished by men but wives often assist, [461] particularly in weeding. A Tongan anecdote proclaims that if a man takes his wife to the garden and has her work so that his work will take him toward her, he will be able to work much faster; but the situations both explicit and implicit in their theory are more fiction than real.

[476] Men usually do choose to work together with at least one other man, and work groups of two to four are quite common. Sociability is important

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476 in such groups and work progresses with a great deal of conversation and joking; frequent breaks for drinking coconuts and smoking are also important as is a midday break for eating and sleeping.

During 1971 seventeen of the adult men in Puke belonged to work groups called kautaha toungaue 'association that works in rotation'. There were two such groups, one having a membership of ten and the other a membership of seven. Each group had a timekeeper but no other leader. The tasks undertaken by the groups were planting and hoeing for each member in the following manner. Each day on which the kautaha was to work, each member had one hour in the morning to work on his own garden plot; the remainder of the day the entire membership worked on the land of one member. The order of rotation was established by the criterion of the proximity of each garden to the village, group work beginning in the closest garden and ending at the most distant.

The basis of membership in these groups seems to be residence and friendship, as all members of one group reside in the northern half of the village and the members of the other group all reside in the southern half.

423 All household heads in Puke have access to land through one of the
426 following: (1) legal usufruct rights based on registration with the
427 government, (2) usufruct rights granted by the noble holding the estate, or (3) usufruct rights "loaned" by a person holding land by one of the other two methods. In the village thirteen men hold land as legal registrants, fourteen hold land at the discretion of a noble, and fifteen use land of a kinsman or friend.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

34

127 specific information, neither their methods nor purposes were, and
797 their descriptions are in no way to be equated with those descriptions
made by a trained ethnographer.

Some of the missionaries did make records for eventual publications and the purpose of the various manuscript accounts had to be considered while reading them for specific ethnographic information, as well as any biases of the missionaries due to their purposes for being in the archipelago. The Wesleyan missionaries were not sent to Tonga to describe and record aboriginal Tonga society for posterity but to change aboriginal Tongan religion and society. The missionaries did not set out to systematically record Tongan social and cultural behavior, but they did set out to systematically interact and influence Tongan social and cultural behavior.

127 The researcher must consider the type of distortions which might
be introduced into the missionary descriptions due to biases and
attempt to control for those biases. He hopes to control for the biases
by attempting to understand what it was that the missionaries were
doing in the archipelago and how they went about in doing it. The re-
searcher must read all of the pertinent extant manuscript materials to
get a wide range of descriptions of Tongan society by various mission-
aries at various points in time. He must consider the attitude of the

127 Wesleyans to the Tongans. One missionary wrote:

797 I am much tempted to be displeased with the natives;
181 some of them are so unreasonable in their demands,
[46] if we want them to work. We are much teased for want
of servants. I cannot tell how it is that servants
are so difficult to be got. I am afraid there is

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

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● [461]
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much idleness, and a want of love among the people. They think themselves quite demeaned by living with a missionary as servants (Turner, Journal, September 11, 1839).

Religious matters were all important to the missionaries and as such the Wesleyan accounts often provided detailed descriptions of aboriginal religious beliefs. These detailed Wesleyan descriptions may be compared with other similar missionary descriptions and the researcher may make inferences concerning the capabilities of the Wesleyan as recorder as well as inferences about aboriginal religious beliefs. Cross wrote:

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[778]
The Tonga gods or the gods of the Tonguese are almost innumerable. They have made themselves gods of men, birds, beasts & fishes, of vegetables, wood & stone, whales teeth, &c (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Another missionary wrote of the Tongans that they had "gods irrational and inanimate swell [ing] the number to an almost Grecian amount"

(Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836). Another time he wrote that these gods included "a whales tooth" which was once "the object of worship"

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776
778
(Ibid., August 23, 1834). The fact that the tooth of a whale could be viewed as a deity was reported by other Wesleyan missionaries:

Today arrived Kelebi Fullagi from Haabai bringing us a letter from the brethren of a very pleasing nature. By this opportunity I received a Tonga god name Elku-tubu, from the great Chief the Tamaha. This god is a whales tooth, wrapped in a fine mat which they call Tuoua (Thomas, Letter-Journal, entry of August 20, 1833).

...and had two gods presented to me, which were formerly of great note here, one of them was given to me by the Tamaha, and the other by another chief of high rank. Idol gods are a very scarce commodity here now, the Tamaha sent me one a short time ago which was called her grandfather, it is a small tooth of a whale (Tucker, Letter, February 13, 1836).

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873 was very impressed by a school from the small village of Tofoa, conducted by a young woman who was trained by Amos. Young, in 1853, spoke glowingly of the results of school examinations at Nuku'alofa and in particular the school for young women of which the wife of the Chief Justice was both patron and teacher.

797 The Methodists in England belonged to that section of the
527 English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views, and in Tonga the sacredness of the Sabbath was an integral part of the missionaries' teaching. Tongan converts accepted this aspect of the missionaries' teaching with all seriousness. They regarded it in the same spirit as they observed the traditional taboos. Referring to this reverence for the Sabbath in Tonga, Young (1854:268) wrote:

Never had I previously observed such respect paid to the Sabbath of the Lord. The day appears to be exclusively devoted to religious services, and nothing meets the eye or ear infringing upon the sanctity of that blessed day, but everywhere incense and a pure offering seem to be presented to the Lord of Hosts. If the people are beheld coming from their habitations, it is that they may go up to the house of the Lord, and inquire in his holy temple. If a canoe is seen in the offing, it is conveying a Local Preacher to his appointment in some distant island, that he may preach unto the people Jesus. If noises occasionally fall upon the ear, they are not those of revelry and strife, but of holy praise and fervent prayer going up to heaven.

[642] Observing the sacredness of the Sabbath later became a part of the constitution of Tonga.

797 Consistent with their puritanical attitudes to work, the mission-
461 aries seriously promoted industrious habits and commerce. People
797 were encouraged to cultivate their land, build better dwelling
431 places, and produce coconut oil for sale. Contribution to the
mission was introduced and encouraged, as being part and parcel
of the kind of life expected of converts to Christianity.

797 The many and diverse attractions of the mission activities led,
166 among other things, to a redistribution of population in Tonga. Converts tended to move from their home areas to the centres where the missionaries resided, in order to attend the services and receive instruction in their new religion. Others moved into the

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643 Havea—his father's formidable enemies, were forgiven and were
797 permitted to return to their respective places. When they tried
669 to thank him for this magnanimous gesture, he told them to
727 express gratitude to God instead, for if it were not for Him they
would all have been killed (Farmer 1855:408). Practically all
of them were made nobles after the constitution was promulgated
in 1875.

643 It may be argued that Tāufa'āhau saw political advantages in
797 granting pardons to his opponents, and that his so-called clemency
669 was merely a sham. If this were so, it would be difficult to under-
727 stand his refusal to get rid of Matekitonga when the chiefs and
661 warriors of Vava'u demanded it. There can be no doubt that
the clemency he showed to his enemies proved politically advan-
tageous, and probably he foresaw this, but the fact remains that
he himself attributed his actions to his Christian faith.

643 Benevolence was another characteristic which owed much to
797 missionary influence. Once his authority was secure he showed
[743] genuine care for the welfare of the people. Dr Lyth, the first
medical missionary to Tonga, told him in 1838 about the need
for a building to house the sick people brought in from various
islands; he immediately promised his warm and full support for
the project (Lyth, Journal, 2 April 1838). Convinced that
Christianity was the best way of life for his people, he himself
became not merely an evangelist, but also a crusader, in order to
[871] hasten conversion. He gave his full support for the promotion of
[565] education. He also led the campaign to emancipate the com-
[641] moners from the absolute and arbitrary rule of the chiefs and
[657] promoted the notion of the equality of all men in the eyes of
the law. Later he bequeathed the revenue from the lease of Crown
lands to provide free medical treatment and free education for
all his subjects.

643 At the same time, King George recognised that religious con-
797 viction and mere piety without hard labour would achieve little
461 in the promotion of the general welfare of his people. Accordingly
he exhorted them to work diligently. The following speech was
reported to have been given by him at a *fono* at Neiafu, Vava'u,
in 1833 when the people had moved there from their villages to
be close to the missionaries for religious instruction and medical

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care. He pointed out to them that there was a shortage of food due to a recent hurricane and that they could not afford to be idle. 643 797 461

Many of you are idle, and some are wasteful,—and others are thoughtless. We have not taken care of the abundance God gave us—in the time past. We eat to our fill, and then we threw much away. We should have made our bread, and should have had many stores of it, then we should have had food to eat in this time of want . . . God has been very good in giving us as good a land—but we must dig the soil, and plant or we shall not have much food. My mind is—that those who will not work should not eat, and you will do right to deny the idle young men—when they come to beg your food. There is another thing I wish to tell you about. That you must not all live at Neiafu; but you must go to your own places inland or to the islands; and you must build your houses—cultivate your fields and attend to your schools and to your chapels. And let the chiefs live with their people in their own places, and not remain altogether here. If you will do this you will have plenty of food and will have the blessing of the Lord upon all your labours . . . , there are some among us who make excuses when they are required to work more by saying they want to read the record of God, but such people cover their idleness by these excuses. It is very good to read God's Word, but you should not neglect your digging—nor your planting, nor your building by reading at improper times. You should do your work of this world, and read when your work is done. You have much time for reading if you will not sleep in the day,—and go about drinking your kava. (P. Turner, Journal, 30 April 1833)

In pursuing the difficult objectives of uniting the whole of Tonga under one ruler, and establishing Christian civilisation and the rule of law throughout the islands of the group, King George and his missionary supporters set themselves a formidable task. In the beginning they encountered only light resistance, but it was soon evident that the power-struggle could not be won easily, and that their ambitions and aspirations to establish a Christian kingdom could not be realised without bloodshed and war. The role played by the missionaries in this struggle, and their attitudes towards it, must now be critically examined, both as to the causes of the conflict and as to the manner in which the wars were fought. 643 797

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684 man had his own wife at Tonga many evils would be avoided and
[797] many sins destroyed'. In order to safeguard marriage Section 8
[671] decreed that a deserted wife might claim her husband's plantations
and property while a woman who deserted her husband should
be brought back to him; if she refused to remain she could not
lawfully remarry during her husband's lifetime.

584 It should be pointed out that marriages in Tonga were fre-
quently arranged, by one's parents or by a chief, without reference
583 to the wishes of the couple who were betrothed. A marriage was
entered simply by the woman cohabiting with a man under his
586 roof and protection. She was expected to remain with her husband
587 until such time as he might choose to divorce her. Mariner
[797] estimated that about two-thirds of the married women in Tonga
had been divorced and married again several times. The mis-
sionaries condemned this custom, not only because they regarded
it as immoral and sinful, but also because it had led to several
murders, when men of lower rank had married the former wives
of superior chiefs.

671 The great emphasis which was placed on the holiness of the
Sabbath and of church services by the missionaries is clearly and
527 unequivocally reflected in Section 2, which exhorts people to
688 abstain from work on the Sabbath day and to attend places
of worship, and which makes it an offence for anyone to disturb
the service or insult the minister of the congregation.

671 Another distinct feature of the Code is the importance given
to industrious habits and the cultivation of the land. Many mis-
461 sionaries complained bitterly because the Tongans appeared to
797 them incredibly indolent. In a letter to the General Secretary of
461 the mission, the Reverend John Whewell asserted that the Tongans
were naturally indolent. 'Only the old and married people', he
wrote, 'profess to work. The young people spend their time up
to manhood in supreme indolence or in what is worse—voyaging
from group to group' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856,
WMMSA 1852-79, item 170). A few, on the other hand, argued
that the people were not entirely an idle race. Their aversion to
work was mainly due to the abundance of natural resources from
which their simple wants were supplied. Hence, there was no
strong incentive for them to work, but when it appeared necessary

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)

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they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs. To the missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. A reflection of this sentiment may be seen in Section 3 which exhorts the chiefs to show love to the people under them but to require them to be industrious and perform their duties to the government and to the chiefs. It also states that the chief should apportion land to the people, sufficient to enable them to procure the necessities of life and support a family. And in order to safeguard the gardens, provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which prohibited anyone to allow his pigs to run loose and damage other people's gardens.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of constant worry to the missionaries. One of the later missionaries wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the Holy one be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death to this (sic) . . . islanders' (Baker to Eggleston, 18 Dec. 1861, Baker 1860-79). Some years later, when one of King George's sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King of Twenty Five Dollars'² and a liability 'to have the spirits taken from him', was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions (especially those which had any religious connection) was one of uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 'civilisation' and the latter with the habits and customs of an English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilised or unchristian, and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc (1934:38) asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the former [Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited,

² This was a Spanish dollar and it was worth four shillings sterling.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)

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only a few additional provisions from the Huahine Code. The missionaries were a little disappointed with the outcome, since several things they would have liked to have seen included were absent; at the same time, they found in it much that was contrary to their views. The sentiment of the missionaries was expressed by Lawry who again visited Tonga at this time. On 5 July 1850, he recorded in his journal:

The King is holding his court, and they have now fully agreed upon a Code of Laws, which are to be published forthwith. They are not all that we could wish them to be; and this I told the King and Chiefs; remarking especially on the mode of paying the Judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat of justice; but the King's apology was, 'we must do things little by little'.

In spite of their disappointment, the missionaries believed that, on the whole, the Code of 1850—with all its defects—was much in advance of the 1839 Code, and that it would, 'no doubt, prepare the way for something better still' (West 1865:213).

As in the 1839 Code, the influence of the missionaries was apparent. Emphasis on industrious habits was again a feature. Article XXXVI declared that men must work and persevere in labouring to support themselves and their families and to contribute to the cause of God and the Chief of the land. Anyone who refused to work was to be denied food or other assistance.

Quoting the above article as evidence, Thomson (1894:221) claimed that the missionaries designed the Code mainly for their own profit. 'Their hand', he wrote, 'is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators.'

On the other hand, the missionaries felt that they were only doing their duty in trying to inculcate in the minds of the Tongans that it was 'the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church, of personally contributing to the support and extension of missionary agencies' (West, 1865:141).

In the Law referring to Women (Article XXXVII) the duties of women included labouring to clothe their husbands and children.

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671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were
[562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is sup-
[461] porting that which is an evil'.³

[581] Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the
1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a
covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either
spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy.
Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of
595 acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people',
wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins
particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away
their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive
them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII:
671 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one
595 spouse.

535 Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was
mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small
[832] hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual
appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of
535 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all
797 Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement
to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing
[796] was the fact that it was often performed in association with the
old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI
671 which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one
535 month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for
further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission-
797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing
to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise,
291 leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

* Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.

463 around their own households, including preparation of
462 agricultural crops and handicrafts, and working in dooryard
162 gardens or on the bush allotments.

463 A high percentage of Tongan males employed in agri-
culture is also shown by the survey of households conducted
by the author in 1971 (Table 17). These data show a
majority were full-time farmers and that another 15 percent
had some other employment, such as a village storekeeper,
part-time banana inspectors/or a lay preachers, but still
considered themselves primarily farmers. Out of 149 house-
holds, there were 39 households with more than one full-
time farmer (one household with five; two with four; eight
[461] with three; and 28 with two). Of the 36 heads of house-
holds who considered themselves full-time wage workers, 50
percent put in some time, ranging from 1 1/2 to 16 hours
per week farming on their allotments. Of these 36 full-
time wage earners, five did not own allotments.

Subsistence Needs

262 The Tongan diet continues to be largely dependent on
241 staple and subsidiary crops grown on traditional garden
allotments. In a listing of the relative importance of
262 items in the diet (Table 18), only a few imported items
439 such as bread (made from imported ingredients), mutton,
128 and canned fish rank high on the list. Imported luxury items
[263] used more for flavor than nutrition, such as canned fruits,
gelatin desserts, ice cream, sugar, salt, and canned or
dried milk, are not listed.

443 The sale of Tongan handicrafts is also a major source
438 of domestic cash income. Handicrafts, which include items
443 such as tapa cloth, pandanus mats, pandanus and coconut
438 leaf baskets, seed necklaces, flower leis, and wood carvings
439 are sold through a Tongan woman's co-operative marketing
441 organization, the Langa Fonua, at Talamahu Market and other
485 locations in Nuku'alofa, in special stalls set up on the
government commons on days when passenger liners are in
port and select locations near points of interest to sight-
443 seers throughout Tongatapu. Although some handicrafts are
438 exported to Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, American Samoa
439 and the United States, more are sold locally.

Labor Organization

241 Out of 126 sample households with bush allotments,
461 there were 198 males whose primary occupation was working
on these allotments. The average work per week was 23 hours
241 per man and 36 hours per household. Although these men
476 mostly worked as individuals or with family members in small
[461] groups, the figures also include the hours of work in
organized communal groups or as wage laborers on agri-
cultural allotments. For tasks such as clearing bush,
planting crops, harvesting, making tapa, or building houses,
many Tongans prefer to work in communal groups rather than
as individuals or households.

[621] The most common working group is known as the kautaha

241 or kautaha toungaue, generally based on village residence or
476 in some cases on church or family ties. Of 126 households
[621] sampled on Tongatapu, 33 heads of household belonged to
241 kautaha toungaue. All of these 33 households were in
476 villages outside Nuku'alofa. Of 31 households in Nuku'alofa
369 no head of household belonged to a kautaha. This probably
[621] reflects urban breakdown of "village solidarity" which
241 provides the main basis for membership in these groups. The
476 number of members ranged from 2 to 15 with the median being
7 members. The average number of days worked per week was
241 4.9. Some kautaha's work only during the yam harvesting
476 planting and cultivating seasons from January to September,
461 but most work throughout the year.

241 The kautaha works on the allotments of its members in
476 rotation. If a member misses a working day, the kautaha
[686] either charges him the going rate of 20 cents per hour for
the time he has missed, skips his allotment during that
241 rotation cycle, or in some cases does not penalize him. The
476 number of allotments worked on per day ranges from one to
461 four with a median of two. The number of hours worked on
each allotment ranges from one to eight with an average of
3.6. The total hours per day worked by a kautaha averages
241 8.1 with a median of 6. The major tasks performed by the
476 kautaha toungaue include clearing bush, burning, planting,
weeding, and harvesting.

[425] Another temporary communal work group is the toutu'u

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha (= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in 1852.⁽⁷⁾ 644 [562]

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race. Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.⁽⁸⁾ 565 622 181 461 181

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time. 777 361

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had recourse to their religion. 181 [609]

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.⁽⁹⁾ Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore. 771 782 773 776 533 [776]

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life. 771 [643] [565] 565 775

The line between interference in politics and merely giving advice when requested was often uncertain. This was a controversial matter when, after 1860, Shirley Baker, while he was still a missionary, regularly gave the king advice. 797

At Taufa'ahau's request, Thomas helped him frame the Vava'u Code of 1839, the king's first venture in legislation on a European model. Promulgated at Neiafu on 29 November 1839, it was the first written law in Tonga, the first step also in limiting the power of the chiefs. It indicated, probably more accurately than later and longer documents, what Taufa'ahau thought was suitable for his people. 797 643 671

The opening phrases showed that the king based the Code on the recognition of God as the fount of law and authority:

"It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you; he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his work, we are all the work of his hands and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy." 779

In this code the chiefs were directed to give land to their people who were under obligation to cultivate it properly. The emphasis placed on industrious habits is a strong feature of these laws. No man who refused to work was to be fed or assisted, and unmarried women who did not work were to suffer in the same way. Chiefs were forbidden to take the property of commoners and they were not to take the law into their own hands. In order to safeguard the gardens it was made unlawful to turn pigs outside their sty. If a pig destroyed a garden, its owner was to shut it up immediately on receiving the complaint and to recompense the damage done; after a second offence it was lawful for the injured person to kill the pig and keep its carcase. 565 622 461 689 622 565 685

Retailing "ardent spirits" was heavily punished. Adultery and fornication were made criminal offences. (Chevalier Peter Dillon criticized this section.)⁽⁴⁶⁾ It was typical of the sternness with which the missionaries of that period were endeavouring to enforce sexual purity that Rabone noted with satisfaction the public flogging of two men and a woman found guilty of fornication. The flogging was carried out by the order of the Governor of Vava'u. 273 671 684

"May this chastisement be sanctified to their good and the good of all."⁽⁴⁷⁾

These penalties seemed to show that the missionaries' stern denunciations from the pulpit were not always effective. John Thomas had told his people that, "if they did not leave off their adultery and fornication, they would burn in hell for ever", and he also found that, while warning the congregation in these terms, he had to reprove some women twice for laughing.⁽⁴⁸⁾ 797

Other sections of the Code strongly reflected missionary influence. All work and games were prohibited on the Sabbath. Attendance at public worship was enjoined in these terms: 671 796 794

"That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they should keep holy the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and labours, and by attending to the preaching of the Word and the worship of God in their places of worship." 527

A court was established at Neiafu to sit monthly. Four chiefs were appointed as magistrates. The Code of Vava'u was made applicable to Ha'apai also, and to Tongatapu after Taufa'ahau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. 671 692

/15 cont./

177 In Nuku'alofa and Neiafu the whites erected rather large buildings
181 which very nearly robbed the two localities of their village character. A four-year world war cast its shadow on Tonga; the natives experienced the closing of German Business establishments. Later, paved streets on the two main islands /16/ were built, the first cars came to Tonga, radio stations were out in operation on three islands and operated partly by Tonga. Natives were trained to assist doctors and were soon operating on their countrymen in the European manner. The school system introduced at the very beginning of the mission period was improved. Another world war came which eventually threatened to draw Tonga into the area of operations. The Tongans saw how Japanese and people of German blood were interned. Americans and New Zealanders took over the protection of the Archipelago, war fleets sailed into the expanded harbor of Nuku'alofa, and an airport was built on Tongatapu. Thousands of white and black soldiers lived in the camps on Tongatapu, and 4700 Tonga received military training. And then, after the war and the periods of temporary scarcity, quantities of European goods again flowed into Tonga, the natives were soon paid fifteen times the pre-war price of copra, and anyone who had a desire for a cabinet style sewing machine or a bicycle, satisfied it, since money and goods found their way to the smallest and most remote Tongan island.

This great, all-powerful European invasion as such, along with the change in the life and culture of the natives resulting from it could certainly have had an influence on the "Tongan character."

It therefore seems noteworthy that, for the time being, there has been no psychic weakening of the natives. All the Tongans, that is, aristocrats as well as commoners, are proud, dignified, confident and self-assured in their manner, among themselves as well as in the presence of Europeans. In everyday life this native can generally not be induced, either by his countrymen or by Europeans, to engage in

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177 work which in any way smacks of coercion. They work for others in
181 order to be of help, out of friendship and love, or also, of course,
1461 to earn a desired wage, but only if they "happen to feel like it."

In essence, the Tongan's self-assurance has by no means been touched though we must admit that he is full of deeply felt admiration, full of respect for the mind and education of Europeans and their way of life (even though he knows little about it). Many of the young intellectuals seriously try to understand and learn more about European ways. Yet in their way of life, their conversations among themselves, and their demeanor toward Europeans the Tongans of all levels show no depression or inferiority complexes. Rather, they are free, open, proud and self-assured in their manner, with an admixture of genuine, cheerful humor which, for example, always makes them ready /17/ to scoff and to laugh at presumed or genuine weaknesses of whites. Many an individual, despite due recognition of the superior knowledge and greater capability of Europeans, does not see in them a shining, pure ideal, but observes them keenly, and is ready for carefully considered criticism if whites, instead of conducting themselves in accordance with the admiration and esteem accorded them by the Tongans, set "bad examples" (i.e. drunkenness, undignified behavior toward Tongan girls, "worldly" behavior). (1)

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1. In the conduct of the natives toward Europeans there is, of course, a difference between the small, remote islands which are seldom visited by whites and seaports like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. On the small islands the Tongans seem at first more reserved, some occasionally even shy, and English-speaking ones are afraid to talk to a stranger in English, whereas in the seaports the conduct of the Tongans seem freer and more self-assured as a result of frequent dealings with whites. However, the basic conduct may be said to be generally the same, particularly since, among the natives of

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29. Even the fertile island of "Eua which is the only Tongan island with running water and lies close to Tongatapu has had an astonishingly sparse population until recent times. In part the reason is said to be the often difficult crossing between Tongatapu and "eua because of the frequent strong surf, people shrink from such discomforts.

Gregariousness was (30)

30. For example, Cock, loc, cit p. 289.

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and still is a further outstanding trait of the Tongan. The natives of both sexes prefer working together whenever they can arrange it. In every village there are cooperative pools (kautaha) in which the women plait mats and make lengths of tapa and in which the men carry out larger plantation work. In addition they unite in single undertakings of various kinds (for example, fishing, house building), and most men form evening kawa gatherings in the village where they discuss the day's happenings, plans for the future and events of the past, sometimes until daybreak.--In sociability the Tongan comes to life, and amid talk, fun and laughter the work progresses better.

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In the course of European influence and cultural change this gregarious impulse has been considerably furthered by the fact that individual settlements united into villages, (31)

31. The village settlement in Tonga and with it the separation of place of residence and plantation goes back to the civil wars and the influence of missions. See chapter on settlement and community, p. 134 ff.

new ties in church groups arose, and the dependence of the masses on their chiefs greatly diminished.

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The old controversy as to whether the Tongan should be called lazy or industrious can be answered, on the basis of present findings, by saying that he is neither lazy nor industrious by Central European standards. On these relatively fertile islands that have no drastic

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181 climate seasonal changes only a minimal amount of work, in our sense,
461 is required for an adequate livelihood. However, since the Tongan
generally does not make his life quite as simple for himself as it
might be, his average actual work activity being greater than environmental conditions and other factors require, we are obliged to
[512] call him relatively hardworking. The Tongan family usually begins its work day at half past five or six o'clock (at times also at four or five o'clock), since the men like to take advantage of the cool early hours to work on the plantations. (32)

32. On the occasion of the week-long house construction on Nomuka (November/December 1951) the work lasted from daybreak until dark; however, the working natives took turns "recovering" during various long breaks.

Generally speaking /25/ the Tongan does not like to leave a piece of work that he has begun and that can be finished on the same day to be finished on the following day. On Nomuka, for example, some of the Tongans worked long after dark on the plantations making copra by a dim light because, once the coconuts had been gathered, they preferred not to leave them untreated until the next day. (33)

33. This was not demanded by the technical process of the work.

[287] In making tapa (koka-'anga) it is the ambition of the Tongan women to finish a job they have begun on the same day; even if they are quite weary after often ten hours of work, they do not lay aside the almost finished piece but force themselves to work an hour or two longer until they are finished. The Tongans' pleasure in their work can increase to a considerable expenditure of energy, even by European standards, if it is in their own particular interest. For example, on the 11th/12th December 1951 a group of 15 Tongan (three skilled workers, the rest untrained) built, from material that had been

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461 supplied, a large copra shed on Nomuka; in the morning at eleven o'clock they began digging the holes for the concrete piles and at 6:45 the following day the shed was finished (25 concrete piles, a wooden floor, beams, plank walls, corrugated iron roof). The incentive for this work was the wish to sell copra on their own island and to spare themselves the long sea journey to Pangai or Nuku'alofa.

Therein also lies the qualification for the label "industrious" as applied to the Tongan: it must always be in his own interest that he devotes himself to his work (this interest can easily include love or respect for another person). For example, he will cultivate a field properly, often putting a great deal of loving work into it in order to have a good yield which will feed himself and his family and will also help him gain recognition and respect in his village community--for example, through the size of his tubers. (34)

34. Thus it may also happen that a Tongan expends a great deal of energy to lay out a decidedly neat and exact model planting (on Lifuka, for example, a few Tongans left their village of Pangai and live on their plantation in order to give it the greatest possible amount of time and work) because he can be proud of it and sets himself apart from his fellow villagers.

However, there is scarcely a Tongan who will work "for the sake of the work itself" (that is, driven to work by a non-practical impulse or a restless desire): nothing seems so alien and grim to him as the idea of "duty." In the government offices the white co-workers of the Tongan ministries complain that many tasks which a native employee started with great interest and energy is simply abandoned as /26/ soon as the initial fascination of the new task has worn off; many Europeans there will compare this Tongan way of working with the way a child plays. (35)

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35. Psychological studies of work, however, show that similar tendencies also exist in Central Europe and are mostly suppressed as a result of differing circumstances.

There are, of course, some natives who cannot be called industrious even according to Tongan ideas, but must be regarded as lazy. They spend their days sleeping or chatting and they live more or less poorly from their overgrown, seldom visited plantings or on the supplies of their neighbors, friends or the rest of the villagers. Yet such types are not in the majority; they are felt to be exceptions in the community.

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Since the Tongans even in the past were described by various observers partly as industrious, (36)

36. For example, Forster in: Geschichte...
/History/. loc, cit. IV. p. 359, V. p. 152.
partly as inactive and lazy (37)

- (113)
37. For example, Annales.../Annals/ loc. cit.
XVIII. p. 423; W. Waldegrave, "Extracts
from a private journal" /cited in English/
in: The Journal of the Royal Geographic
Society of London. vol. III. London 1834.
p. 194.

we may conclude that the attitude of these natives has not changed fundamentally, especially since decades of influence by missions and the government were unable to instill in them much of a "sense of duty." (38)

38. Typical for the lack of European "work discipline" of which the Tongan himself is often aware and which is based more on lack of ability than a lack of good will is the case of the quite capable Tongan physician A. When he was offered the management of the hospital in Nuku'alofa in the wake of the gradual replacement of European government workers with properly

/26 cont./

181 trained Tongans, he pointed out that he was
461 not capable of developing the enterprise
177 further through independent, sober, regular
198 work like a European, that a decline would
have to be reckoned with and that he would
request that a European be retained for
this position.

181 However, there has been a change insofar as a new type of work involving
461 all kinds of effort, namely copra production, has spread in Tonga to the
245 smallest inhabited island, and along with it has come the thinking in
198 terms of money which has given a certain impetus to increased work in
order that the desired goods could be bought and the customary, often
large church contributions, as well as the taxes could be paid. How-
ever, the copra work has not been a strong enough influence to upset
the Tongan rhythm of life and work. This fact must, in the first
place, be traced back to the imperturbable, stoic nature of the Tongans.
(39)

39. Even today many coconuts on the Tongan
plantations rot because the owners
do not happen to "feel like" gathering
them.

Secondly, the number of coconut palms on every plantation is naturally
limited, so that the respective copra production cannot exceed a
certain optimum (which is, however, almost never reached). Furthermore,
as has been mentioned, the actual, natural needs of these islanders are
small.

181 /27/ A few Tongans working for Europeans have, however, become ac-
461 customed to a different pace of work which is marked by certain haste
197 and restlessness. (40)

40. For example, the author noticed one Tongan
who for some time drove a bulldozer for the
Americans on the Tongatapu airport; another
who, as house painter (partly for piece-work
wages) and auto mechanic, earns a considerable
amount and, with an old truck, established an
"independent trucking business."

/27 cont./

181 In general, the Tongans have kept the cleanliness and love of
515 order characteristic of the Polynesians. The huts inside usually
[356] look quite tidy and clean, and in personal grooming people are
fairly conscientious. This has increased to a certain extent through
teaching of hygiene in all schools, so that one scarcely meets a Tongan
with long, black-bordered fingernails or toenails. However, on the
181 Tongan plantations orderliness often leaves much to be desired and the
351 neatly plaited fences praised by earlier observers (41)
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41. For example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 163;
G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 323/324;
J. Wilson, A missionary voyage to the
southern Pacific Ocean/cited in English/.
London 1799. pp: 102, 245; Ch. Wilkes,
loc. cit. p. 13.

are today to be found neither on the plantation (where at most a single
barbed wire constitutes the fence) nor in the villages. (42)

42. Only a few villages have a (usually
uncared-for) stockade-style fence
(coconut palm trunks) to set off
plantings.

[247] In the latter there is also not always painstaking order and cleanli-
ness, and one seldom comes across a property owner who has planted
flowers and ornamental bushes for beauty. (43)

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43. Compare with this G. Forster, loc. cit.
pp. 325, 340; J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemisphere
Austral /Voyage in the southern hemisphere/
vol. II. Paris 1778. p. 68.

181 Most of the wooden houses in need or repair are so neglected that they
351 are practically falling apart. The untidiness of many plantations is
177 usually due to the often rather long approach to them required by
461 their owners and the proliferating weeds resulting from climate con-
[356] ditions, whereas the lack of orderliness in the villages may be
regarded as a direct result of European influences which also brought

181 /27 cont./

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about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of the new /process/. (44)

44. In this connection see the origin and present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.) and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

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The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/ own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependability and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary.

(577)

Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans.

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This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is, on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm

/95 cont./

496 It may also happen that such a kautaha will hire themselves out for
[465] money to another villager by building him a house for a wage of, say,
30 pounds.

Such men's kautaha are found in most villages. Often they exist
for a certain time only, for example a year, and the members then separate
and look for other temporary or more permanent combinations. Much more

496 significant in village life are the women's kautaha. Their sole
287 purpose is to make, in a cooperative endeavor, long lengths of tapa
285 and large mats for individual members who furnish the raw material
(raw tapa or cleaned /96/ strips of pandanus leaves). For example,

[461] seven women will work five days a week (on Saturday they prepare for
Sunday) and on each day will plait one mat, so that in the end five
women will receive their portion of the work and the next week the
496 other two will be supplied. Usually a capable older and more exper-
ienced man is "president" of such a kautaha; he is elected by the group
for one year and may be reelected. In every Tongan village there is at

[368] least one such women's kautaha, and almost all villages have special
kautaha houses for the aforementioned types of work. (270)

[592] 270. A count in the 100 households of the
village of 'Uiha (in April 1952) showed,
for example, that at the time, in each
of 59 households there was one female
(wife, daughter, resident relative) who
was a member of a women's kautaha, whereas
in eight households there were two each,
and in one household three females belonged
to a kautaha. In 32 households no one was
a member of a women's kautaha.

These kautaha are far more long-lasting than those of the men. Thus
on Nomuka the four women's kautaha, the largest of which has 18, and
the smallest six co-workers, were set up in the years 1922, 1942, 1945
and 1948. Based on the type of work they accept only a specific
number of members. If a member dies, usually her daughter or a relative

/101 cont./ The men gathered together

276 (usually between five and fifteen) talk. The older ones speak about
574 their plantations and their remarkable harvests or setbacks, or about
521 fishing and the various methods employed. They will also discuss in
detail the special events on the island and in the Archipelago, and
from minor and harmless occurrences the most exciting stories may
develop. The younger ones take part in these conversations, or they
will chat with the girl preparing the kava. (282)

282. She does not drink the kava and may not
leave her seat throughout the entire session;
once she goes out, another girl must continue
in her stead.

(533) Sometimes the younger ones may sing, and then the quiet, even conversa-
tion of the older ones will cease. While new kava drink is prepared and
276 served again and again, the group stays together, from early evening,
574 for example, until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak.

(431) In this case, the old custom is sometimes observed that the men, on
the next day, will prepare a large earth-oven (possibly with a pit)
as "compensation" for their wives, and the wives will give them gifts
of tapa and mats.

There are no special houses for kava circles within the village.
Every house of a specific minimal size is suitable. In every
village there are several kava gatherings in different houses every
day (especially in the evening). In general, the men do not go
(182) regularly to a specific kava circle; the houses as well as the members
(621) of the groups change, and this fulfills the essential function of
kava drinking, namely, to unite the male members of the village
community beyond all separation through family life and the religious
affiliation, in any combination and at any time.

276 Not only in these free social gatherings, but also on all
574 special occasions kava drinking is a necessary accompaniment. At
461 every type of community work in the village, for example if a few

/101 cont./

276 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a
574 building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a
461 major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is
always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united
in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this
form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European
nature (for example, building a cement tank
for drinking water, making concrete blocks
for a church building) this custom is
observed.

276 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It
527 belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all
585 other festive occasions--generally before the meal.
764

276 Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village,
178 compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but
actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the
greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the
commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in
[179] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of
the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it.

[273] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)
[272]

284. Only with a permit from the police
minister or by the dangerous way of the
black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and
lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the
[415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly in-
destructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings
of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

276 285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.
574 have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease
565 of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.
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/104 cont./

565 decades later, that the termination of the interdependence of nobles
178 and people is being worked out in practice to the fullest extent.

565 Whereas formerly the chiefs had total, almost godlike authority
178 in Tonga, today God and the church--and, only far behind the royal
794 house--are the supreme power for all Tonga. Among the people, their
former work for chiefs has been replaced by work for the family and
(461) (among the Wesleyan natives in particular) for the church. (290)

290. Many average Tongan families of the villages on the small islands today "contribute" approximately the sum of 30-50 ~~T.~~ a year (= circa 280-470 German marks) to their church; in addition there are the faka-afe (banquets) for the preachers. Besides, every Tongan devotes a considerable amount of time to the numerous church services.

178 The present-day tu'a pays only his (small) land rent (to the government)
565 for his chief on whose territory his plantation lies; he seldom sends
(427) his chief natural produce--and generally only voluntarily--as a special
(438) gift. The commoners, through democratizing Christianity, gained greater self-assurance in relation to the upper classes, and this becomes all the stronger as they secure for themselves economic advantages through the copra trade and are able to acquire a certain amount of knowledge and culture in the schools. Intelligence and ability can make it possible for them to advance in various professions (government administration, teacher, clergyman, physician).

The chiefs, whose position of power has not suddenly, but very gradually, declined, look upon this development coolly and with a certain melancholy. Only the royal family and the 30 highest chiefs of the new class of nopele (nobles) (291)

291. Altogether there are now 33 nopele titles in Tonga, three of which are at present held by the crown prince and his brother.

created in the second half of the previous century by George I,

/113 cont./

648 minister of finance, as well as, in a
177 certain sense, to the secretary sent
563 by the British government to the premier.
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Yet they are the ones who, in the final analysis keep the entire government machinery running. (315)

315. In November 1951 the following positions in the Tongan government (administration) were occupied by whites: secretary to the government (English), police superintendent (English), minister of finance (New Zealander), assistant treasurer (New Zealander), government auditor (New Zealander), assistant auditor (New Zealander), accounting officer (English), relieving officer (New Zealander), deputy commissioner of island revenue (Dutchman), chief medical officer (Canadian), nurse (English woman), agricultural officer (director) (Dutchman), farm manager (Australian), chief postmaster (New Zealander), superintendent of telephone and telegraph (New Zealander), /114/ assistant superintendent of telephone and telegraph (New Zealander), building inspector (New Zealander), clerk of the building inspector (German), government storekeeper (New Zealander), electric power board (two New Zealanders), garage and mechanical repair shops for government vehicles (New Zealander), medical adviser (Vava'u), (English) /titles of all positions cited in English/.

648 /114/ The Tongans are very much interested in everything new, and
177 some of it they gladly accept. Thus they also work quite willingly in
563 the government. However, they often find it difficult to carry through,
645 consistently to the end, work they have begun but that soon seems un-
647 interesting to them. Before finishing the old work they, start some-
181 thing new. Moreover, the natives have but slight regard for paper
461 with writing on it, that is to say, for documents, which they often
lose, mislay or burn. Their European colleagues fight what sometimes
seems like a losing battle against this easy going attitude, as well

/114 cont./

648 as against the usually very slow work tempo. Besides, the authoritative
197 Tongan ministers do not always have the necessary specialized know-
563 ledge for their departments, or they find it difficult properly
645 to evaluate the problems and possibilities of their solutions.
647 Nonetheless, the Tonga state, as a result of the work of Europeans,
181 is today free from debts and has even invested rather large sums (316)

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(652)
(454)

316. In 1950 these amounted to 424,808.4.10
(Report of the Honourable the Minister for
the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa
1951. p. 2).

648 in Britain. The frequent change in white employees in various
197 government positions is unfavorable, especially since their successors
563 often continue the work in question according to their personal point
647 of view, hence no lasting system is adhered to. Indeed, European
critics of the government are of the opinion that the Tongan
government has up to now lacked the necessary planning ability for
a unified and advantageous development.

Some of the whites working in the government (317)

317. For example, the postmaster of Neiafu
(Vava'u) and the physician on Lifuka.

were in recent years replaced by Tongans with corresponding training.
However, this occurred rather because of a scarcity of whites in the
Archipelago (318)

318. During the Second World War the number of
whites (men, women and children) decreased
in Tonga (on account of the danger of invasion
and because of the depression) from around 400 to
around 200 (see Pacific Islands Yearbook 1950
/cited in English/. p. 109) and has since then
hardly increased.

or because of their relatively low pay by the government. There is
a great dearth of well trained native personnel, and it seems that it
will be a long time before a Tongan can take over, say, the position
of minister of finance.

/140 cont./

283 and then the three-strand cord is plaited from these small bundles.
283 This method of preparation probably corresponds to the ancient Tongan
178 procedure except for two deviations: In the old days it was probably
generally customary to "bake" the coconut husks in an earth oven and
only then to place them in the sea; occasionally this complicated
method is still used today by leaving the husks (wrapped in koko
leaves) (373)

373. Bischofia javanica Bl.

for hours or days (up to one month) in the earth oven--soon grown cold--
and thereafter keeping them in sea water for two or three weeks.

(171) Secondly, in former times, the natives probably wound the little fiber
bundles with a single fiber before plaiting them, as is occasionally
still done in Samoa; this procedure is slower, but guarantees
greater durability of the cord.--Making coconut cords is men's and

[462] women's work, but is done mostly by the men. Often, several men do
[574] the plaiting together, and they also like to do this work in the kava
[276] gatherings. However, the cords are much less often made than they

were even a few decades ago when one constantly saw men plaiting kafa
in the kava circles. In those days they apparently also liked to lay
in a supply, and the demand for better built houses of ancient Tongan
style was probably greater. Today, three men plait up to 200 meters
of coconut-fiber cord in four hours (as a day's output). In this
way three people can, in three months, make the necessary amount of
kafa for a rather large house of ancient Tonga style, whereas they
finish this work for a small house in less than a month--if they
persist in plaiting their quota every day.

342 A further concern of the Tongan who wants to build a house in
313 the old Tongan style is to procure the posts and beams. The Tonga
[324] Islands are poor in lumber, and if a person does not have a few koka
[439]

331 /141 cont./

342 owners. The palms chopped down with the big axe (toki lahi) (see
476 above) are cut up with the same axe into nine-foot (or eleven-foot)
(313) lengths and, for further preparation, are placed on two smaller
342 (properly notched) logs. The "jacked-up" logs are then provided with
476 longitudinal grooves by two Tongans standing opposite each other
335 who, with the big transverse hatchet (fale-vatu lahi) (see above),
412 strike blow after blow, each /worker/ forming a longitudinal groove;
331 /142/ the two longitudinal grooves meet as they are struck, so that the
second of the two workers can, with his blows, simultaneously tear
the bark and wood out of the resulting fissure and thus lay it open.
After turning the log slightly on its supports, another Tongan,
/applying/ blow after blow with the big axe, slits the resulting work-
piece (the rafter-to-be) on one side. After a further turning, the
two men start cutting another lengthwise groove with the transverse
hatchet. The process is repeated successively until 10,12 or 15 rafters
(kahoki), depending on the circumference of the trunk, are marked off
all around the log. Then the kahoki (which already have a preliminary
slit on one side) are separated from the log with the big axe and a
pointed club (crowbar). With a machete the rough chips are removed
and the rafters are loaded on two-wheel, horse-drawn carts and taken
to the building site in the village.

331 There are no reports about how rafters were made in ancient Tonga.
342 However, it is to be assumed that today's work which seems so primi-
335 tive to us was carried out in the same way in those days, and that
178 there is a change only with respect to the axes, the iron blades of
177 the transverse hatchets and the measurements with English foot rules.

342 The groups of natives, each working on the felled coconut palms
335 (young and old separately, but also individual older men among the
476 young ones), busily engaged, though soon stopping for rather long
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331 /142 cont./

342 rest periods, make 110 rafters by early afternoon. Then they go back
335 to the building site and around 16 o'clock they each have an earth-
476 oven meal, prepared in the meantime by their wives and other women,
(461) from the supplies of the "boss"; each man is served a portion (yams,
(264) manioc, kape, bananas, pork, beef) in a traditional coconut-leaf
(262) basket and with it a coconut mug containing fish soup. Thereafter the
(415) work in the village is resumed: five Tongans sitting crosslegged
(516) "plane" the rafters by striking them with the small transverse hatchets
(fale-vatu si'i, toki taha-taha, toki tele) or with the machete, two
natives cut more rafters out of trunks which are brought from the
plantations, and 12 Tongans hold a kava gathering at the site to
"sanction" the building project, while three women prepare the
evening meal. This is eaten when twilight sets in (around 18:30):
(264) everyone present gets three or four fried cakes and highly sweetened
(262) orange-leaf tea in coconut bowls. Around 119 o'clock everybody goes
home.

342 On the second building day, while several younger natives split
313 off and plane more rafters and a kava circle of elders is gathered on
335 the building site, six Tongans and the carpenter go to the plantations
331 (after the fried-cake and orange-leaf-tea breakfast) to get sections
of curved beams (for the narrow sides of the new building). According
to an apparently very old system, these are cut out of coconut palm
342 trunks that have grown with a special curvature. Again the men work
335 with the big axe and the big transverse hatchet. From each palm a
331 curved section of beam is obtained. Around 13 o'clock- after they
(264) have cut up the seventh palm, they grow listless, build a fire, roast
a few green bananas in it, have a snack and then go back to the
village, leaving the remaining five palms of the day's quota for the
342 following day. Around 14:30, /143/ 'ota 'i mango (a refreshing drink
272 of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar) is
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/144 cont./

331 house is now already occupied.
342

[461] This house building took 29 work days. After a forced pause of several weeks to procure further building material from distant Nuku'alofa, the work will soon be finished.

331 In this way, European tools (or parts of tools) and material,
342 as well as European building methods have found their way into
177 Tongans to build a house has not been displaced by this specialization.
178 In fact, division of labor among the workers in building a house and their compensation seems little changed. This persistence is also evident in the way the Tongans largely retain their ancient building methods.

b) Household Equipment

177 European influences have brought about enrichment and change in the field of household equipment.

352 /145/ The ancient Tongan furnishings of a dwelling consisted
415 essentially of seat mats, sleep mats, headrests, baskets of various
354 kinds and sizes (to hold clothing, combs, fish hooks, tools, etc.), bottle gourds, wooden bowls, lamps (burning coconut oil) and the all important and typical multi-footed, large kava bowl. (376)

376. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ I. pp. 95, 96, 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 285; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 329; V. pp. 139, 148; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative... /cited in English/ III. pp. 15, 16.

177 As a result of contact with whites the Tongans adopted various European household articles which seemed to them either more useful than corresponding ones of their own, or particularly "representative." In this way, what to the European eye seemed like the "emptiness" of the Tongan house was to some extent filled.

[352] Today, the inside of a dwelling looks somewhat as follows:

/149 cont./

177 ones of their own, or are simply regarded as "representative." This
 178 change has, however, not essentially altered the ancient Tongan style
 of household living. The great majority of natives use the seat mats
 and the sleep mats, as did their forefathers, and have merely made
 their traditional way of life more comfortable with the European
 178 novelties. The difference between the furnishings of commoners and
 565 nobles, which to some extent undoubtedly existed in earlier times, has
 disappeared. With respect to Tongan cultural assets this must have
 meant a loss in quantity and quality for nobles and a gain for
 177 commoners. The acquisition of European things is today solely
 dependent on financial means.

342 /150/ To sum up, we may say about the Tongan house and its
 177 furnishings that all changes, as great as they may be in detail,
 178 have by no means changed the function of the dwelling. As in old
 times, it is the place where the family sleeps and rests. (396)

396. The set-up of the Tongan household and
 the distribution of houses on the individual
 properties in the village may be seen on
 page 90 ff., and the number of houses in
 the various villages on page 134.

[461] No work is done in the dwelling except the mat-plaiting of the women,
 [285] and the cook area is still located in a separate hut.
 [252]

B. FOOD

a) Cultivation

241 The Tongans were and are primarily farmers, and their cultivation
 178 has undergone no fundamental change through European influences.
 [177]

Very probably the size of the land cultivated today in the
 Tonga Archipelago is as large as it was in ancient Tongan times. The
 [161] considerable decrease of cultivation in the first half of the past
 century (as a result of the civil wars from 1797 to 1852 and the
 transition to village settlements) has as regards to the area of

/151 cont./

Plant	Amount	Day on which planting must be finished
Yams.....	600	December 31, 1948
Taro.....	150	"
Manioc.....	200	"
kape.....	50	"
Bananas (saine)....	100	"
Sweet potatoes.....	300	June 30, 1949
Maize.....	100	"
Reed (kaho).....	10	"
Kava.....	10	"
Sugarcane (au).....	50	"
Paper mulberry trees	100	"

(The governors have the power to order changes depending on local conditions.)

(425) The government has the right /152/ to take away the land from the lessees who do not comply with the regulations. However, it scarcely makes use of this right. There are some plantations that are seldom visited by their owners and are rather overgrown, and no one seems to care about punishment. The majority of Tongan, however, plant approximately the prescribed amounts and often go beyond the measure stipulated of basic food plants for which the numbers are set relatively low; other plants, such as maize and the reed used for house construction, as well as sugarcane are preferably "forgotten."

(469) Planting--as in old times--is purely men's work; very seldom, and then mostly for certain auxiliary work (for example, "sweeping" a freshly burned-off plantation) do women come "into the bush." The average Tongan goes to his plantation several times a week (up to six times), early in the morning around six o'clock, and works at weeding, planting or harvesting until ten or eleven o'clock, and then goes back to the village. Often he visits his plantation again in the afternoon from 15 (16) o'clock until 18 (18:30) o'clock. The natives

/152 cont./

241
461
[512]
[517] are capable of working intensively four to five hours at a stretch, but do not always do this consistently. While the majority visit their plantations several days a week and the rest of the time devote themselves to other occupations (for example, fishing, copra-production), there are in every village some natives who visit their small, half wild plantation at most once a week and spend the remaining days chatting in various houses of the village. Still another "minority," on the other hand, have the ambition to lay out truly "model plantations"; they devote almost all available time to their very neat and precisely laid out plantation, spend the night there in a specially erected hut for days, weeks or months, or move there altogether with their families. The Tongans work on their plantations by themselves or, especially in case of larger projects, (403)

403. For example, clearing to lay out a yam field.

in groups (a one-time arrangement or a regular kautaha. (404)

404. See p. 137.

241
461
178
[417] Although nowadays the Tongans, in their opinion, give a considerable amount of work and time to their plantations, most of these appear less cared for than in old times. The "neat fences of reed" (405)

405. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/
loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 178, 222.

which in former times enclosed the plantations have long since disappeared and have been partly replaced by single, rusty barbed wires.

241
178
461 Within the plantations themselves one often misses the ancient Tongan love of order; some of the /153/ plots; with the exception of a few "model plantations," seem disorderly, and tall weeds proliferate. The reason for this is, of course, that today the Tongan generally does not live on his plantation and, because of the sometimes rather long

/153 cont./

241 way he has to walk from the village, he can no longer devote himself
178 to it as intensely as in the 18th century; secondly, many natives
461 seem to have lost their joy in the work of cultivation. This is the
[197] outcome of European influences, as a result of which much hand work
has apparently become crude or has been lost altogether. The
"liberation" of commoners from the domination of chiefs, as well as
the realization that one is no longer completely dependent on
cultivation, since flour, meat, sugar, etc. can be bought from the
storekeeper on all the islands, may likewise have determined the
present attitude toward plantation work.

241 The majority of Tongans consume their cultivated products by
[262] themselves, within their own families. At a request, or even on their
[431] own initiative, they will sometimes give of their yield--especially
if there has been a good harvest--to other villagers (not only kinfolk),
as in old times. On the small islands they do not, as a rule, sell
241 their produce to fellow-villagers, and in the villages of the larger
438 islands, only occasionally. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu
184 and Pangai, however, some Tongans sell their tubers, etc. to their
432 countrymen who have no plantings or only small ones (for example,
government and business officials); some natives on the larger
islands have even started planned cultivation for such purposes (for
example, "yam farms"). The handing-over of produce to chiefs, which
241 in ancient Tonga was taken for granted, has been given up almost
565 entirely and has been superseded by the annual payment for the lease
178 of land; a native but only seldom on special occasions, will a
427 native bring the chief of his district a gift of select tubers. The
651 old, larger harvest festival (inasi), the offering of first fruits
431 to the gods, (406)

406. See E. Gifford, Tongan Society / cited in
English/ pp. 76, 345.

511 /203 cont./ Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the
439 Archipelago have long since ceased to be used for clothing, as a re-
177 sult of European influence, but only for the sleeping places and
291 for festive occasions, the natives are obliged to buy fabric for
65 clothing or readymade clothing; (531)
794

531. See chapter on "Clothing," p. 67.

they must also pay the relatively low taxes and make substantial
511 contributions to churches. Aside from that, all money--and this is,
439 as a rule, the larger part of the proceeds from their copra work--
177 /204/ is used to buy supplementary European amenities. Among these
are, first of all foodstuffs such as canned meat and fish, flour, sugar,
etc., luxuries, above all tobacco, furthermore household objects such
as lamps (including oil), dishes, bowls and pots, equipment, raw
material and tools for building, fishing and woodworking, and finally
things which for the Tongans are definite luxury articles, such as
bicycles and cabinet-type sewing machines, perfume and powder.

245 Thus copra production has exerted a certain influence on the
434 daily life of the Tongans. The whole family takes part in this work--
(592) at any rate, in some phases of it; the men devote many hours of the
(461) year to it. The money they make with this activity is largely con-
(439) verted into goods that change the external picture of Tongan culture--
(177) from clothing and food to house-building and household goods; money
and goods also affect the character of the people and their inter-
relations--though up to now only to a slight extent. (532)

532. See pp. 17-22, 29-31.

(439) For the Tongans state the duty on the export of copra and the import
of goods that results from this is the most substantial source of
income. (533)

533. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for
the years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/.
London, 1952. p. 8/9. Copra export rose to

/218 cont./

287 Before that, however, the dye must be obtained to dye the tapa
386 lengths. This the women also take care of. From a wild koka-tree
412 (Bischofia javanica [flower]) growing on plantation land, and with a
824 scraper (me'a vau koka) made for his purpose and consisting of a metal
band in the shape of a loop fastened to a wooden handle or simply a



Koka-scraper (me'a vau koka)
(Expedition Collection, No. 175)

metal band bent into shape, they first scrape off the outer grayish-
brown bark layer, and then scrape a quantity of shavings from the
reddish bark layer, which they take to the village in coconut-leaf
baskets. (The koka-trees survive this procedure, and the same trees
287 are used again and again.) The bark shavings are soaked in water and
386 then laid upon the open, outspread pressing tube (fau tau koka)
plaited out of hibiscus bast) which is thereupon tied up and wound
with hibiscus bast. This large, sausage-shaped object is tied to-
gether at the ends and hung from a strong tree branch. Through the
ring that is formed by the pressing-tube they insert a heavy stick
and turn it so that the brown koka-color runs into a vessel placed
in readiness. In order to squeeze out the "last drop" two or four
women (girls) sit on the two ends of the stick.

287 Whereas the beating of the bast lengths is performed by women
386 who work separately or in twos or threes (side by side), and even
461 the koka -pressing is done only by a few women (girls) working to-
476 gether, the making and dyeing (koka'anga) of the large strips is

/218 cont./

287 generally handled by a group of 10 to 16 women (girls). (571)

386

[461]
[476]

571. This is a work team (kautaha) (see pp. 137-140) that carries out the process under the supervision of an older woman; a woman seldom does this work by herself.

[368] They do this work in special houses (572)

572. fale kautaha = house of kautaha (see pp. 134-136, 137-140).

on a structure built of boards, some four to six meters long, that has the shape of a cylinder cut in half lengthwise and resting on its open side. This "drum" the women first wrap with coconut fiber cords, then lay over them "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) and on top of these they place the printing panels (kupesi); the latter are larger or smaller /219/ panels made of pandanus leaves of the paongo species and kaka 'i niu (that is, the natural tissue at the base of the leaf stem of the coconut palm) sewed together with hibiscus bast threads, on which various decorations made from the center rib (tu'a niu) of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm are fastened with coconut fibers (from the husk of the nut) and with single hibiscus bast threads. On top of these printing panels, to protect them, the women again place "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) as "pulusi" (covering tapa) which they press firmly against the relief-like patterns and rub with dye-soaked (koka-dye) scraps of tapa (tata). Then the glueing and dyeing (koka'anga) of the large tapa lengths can commence. On the prepared bottom [38] surface they place a first layer (laulalo) consisting of several feta'aki, (573)

573. The small holes which may result from beating the tapa are first glued with patches of the same material.

press it firmly with the dye-soaked scrap (tata), smear its surface with parboiled (poisonous) manioc roots (as glue) (tou) and place on

/222 cont./

287 production from the supervision of nobles coarsened the results is
178 difficult to say. The old tapa pieces in the Göttingen Institute
177 of Ethnology, (581)
[565]

581. That is, Numbers Oz. 575, 578-580;
all from the Cook-Forster Collection.

for example, scarcely surpass the products of the present, and though the patterns customary today may seem in part clumsy, yet they show a certain skill and assurance in the decoration of large areas.

287 The Christianization of the Archipelago has influenced tapa-
527 making insofar as this work, like every other, is laid aside on
177 Sundays and is scarcely done even on Saturdays. (582)

582. On account of preparations for Sunday.

287 The Tongan women also try to finish all planned koka'anga work (that
461 is, the pasting and coloring of the large pieces) before the Christmas season; in the new year they gradually start beating feta'aki (raw tapa), and it often takes months before the first koka'anga again takes place.

285 In summary we may say about the plait- and knotwork as well as
283 tapa-making of the Tongans that in their use of materials and in their
287 technique they have, to a large extent, preserved their heritage from
177 the past. True, some of it has been lost, new things have arisen,
178 European expedients have gained entrance, and the products of today seem /223/ in part cruder in comparison with ancient Tongan work. Yet one can scarcely speak of an actual deterioration.

In addition to employment of materials and technique, it may be interesting to note the distribution of these products among the Tongan people in the past and at present. In this connection we
(565) discover that today a certain quantity of such pieces are to be found in every Tongan household, and that, as a result of the "liberation" of commoners and the attendant "debasement" of types once reserved for

/225 cont./

462 making or helps with tapa-making.

462 The principle of the present customary division of labor
178 between the sexes corresponds to that of the past. For example, Cook
(584)

584. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 282/283.
as well as Mariner (585)

585. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 132, 301; see
also E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecaesteaux...
I. p. 310.

462 reported that Tongan men at that time did all the heavy work, while
177 the lighter tasks were the responsibility of their wives. The new
tasks that arose as a result of European influence (copra-making,
cooking, washing, sewing) were also shared by the two sexes in
accordance with this principle. (586)

586. If the situation demands it, however, the
women are perfectly willing to do heavy work;
for example, one sometimes sees women and girls
splitting ripe coconuts with the axe (for making
copra), if the male members of the family, for
some reason, are prevented from doing this.

461 The "division of labor" between nobles and commoners, (587)

464 587. On the occupational division of labor see the
565 chapter "Vocations and Trades" p. 357 ff.

178 which was so much taken for granted in ancient Tonga and, according to
which, commoners were obliged to work for nobles who supervised
and guided them, was fundamentally changed through the Christianization
and democratization of the Archipelago: The commoners today generally
work for themselves, for their family alone; some chiefs work their
plantation none, others work together with several commoners, and a
few let the latter work for them on a voluntary basis and for
remuneration (food, kava, money), while they spend their days at leisure.

512 The daily routine of the Tongans is still characterized by the
181

/225 cont./

512
[181] tranquility and equanimity of these human beings who, with a measure of regularity, go about their customary tasks, duties and forms of relaxation.

/226/ They usually get up quite early in the morning (between five and six o'clock) and often start the day with a short prayer. While the wife busies herself preparing the morning meal and the children help her or finish their schoolwork, the husband usually (after feeding his pigs) goes to his plantation (588)

588. Sometimes he also goes fishing.

[264] in order to take advantage of the pleasant morning coolness. The family has its first meal some time between nine and eleven o'clock, in which the husband of course takes part if by that time he has returned from his plantation (where he would also be able to prepare a meal for himself). The wife spends the morning "taking care of the house" (she spreads out the sleeping-mats and -tapa in the sun in front of the house, cleans and sweeps the interior and straightens out and rolls up the bedding), and, besides attending to the small children (the older children are at school), she might busy herself with the plaiting of a mat that may have been started a long time before; she might also go to the beach on the surf side of the island in order to look for algae, polyps, mussels or crabs. In case the husband has not remained on his plantation he will probably attend to his copra-making or his fishing. While some families in the larger towns will have another meal around noon, according to the European example, most of the natives on the smaller islands simply take a longer rest which lasts until the worst heat is over (about 15 o'clock). Then the villages wake up to new life. The men visit the plantations or they now go fishing or take up their planned copra work with which the women sometimes help; otherwise, the women continue with their plaitwork or now

/227 cont./

512
[252]

women, the husbands prepare earth-oven meals for their working wives.

may influence and change the customary daily routine of some families.

[592]

The size of the family naturally plays a part in the daily routine, since kinfolk (men as well as women) living with the family can make tasks easier or take them over from the other members of the household.

512
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However, the Tongan men and women are, of course, the determining factor in the daily routine; undoubtedly there is a certain need to work, but owing to the climate and the relatively rich resources of their homeland, work is not heavy enough to be burdensome so that, with Tongan equanimity, many a plan can be cheerfully postponed for days or weeks, and one can take a nap if one feels in the mood, or spend a forenoon or an afternoon at a game. (591)

591. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that during the hottest period of the day (around 13 or 14 o'clock) men will work on the plantations and women, for example, will gather food along the shore while the majority of villagers take a rest.

512
529

The daily routine as described applies only to the week days from Monday to Friday, for on Saturday preparations are made for Sunday: the men bring food for Sunday from the plantations (or from the sea), and the women are busy (besides their daily chores of preparing meals, taking care of the house, attending to the children) washing clothes and cleaning the grassy areas of their properties, which the men have cut short. The Sunday routine is, however, quite

[797]
[461]

different. As a result of the missionization of the Archipelago, chiefly carried on by the Wesleyans, there is strict observance of rest from work on this day. Early in the morning (usually around

[796]

five o'clock) people attend the /228/ first church service followed, in the course of the day, by two or three further church attendances,

/228 cont./

(592)

592. Children also attend Sunday school.

in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.

Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main

Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it

sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the

bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the

week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups

gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (faka-afe).

The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of

Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties

and leisure activities are new activities (595)

595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/253 cont./

796 Along with a doubtlessly often felt inner need, there is also a desire
794 to be seen in public and to enjoy the reputation of being a good
[626] Christian, which plays an important part in this church attendance, and
the number of Tongans who believe that with this frequent attendance
at services (and with their prayers at home) they are doing enough for
their welfare on this earth and for their salvation is probably not
insignificant. This attitude, however, is probably less Tongan than
typically human, and the Tonga Archipelago is doubtless not exceptional
among the rest of the Christian countries of the world. Yet it seems
noteworthy that these rather casual human beings to whom the European
time sense is so foreign should attend church services so regularly.

[152] The majority of them seem to listen devoutly and with wholehearted
feeling to the sermon and try to experience within themselves the
biblical passages discussed, /255/ so that, like the preacher, they
[533] often have tears in their eyes. Their singing of the hymns is loud
and fervent. They are, at any rate, convinced that they are real
[186] Christians, (679)

[521]
[461] 679. Strange, though probably understandable with
the Old Testament bias of the Methodists, is
the attitude of the Wesleyan Tongans to Sundays
and to the important church holidays. While
on Sunday a strict rest from work is observed,
at Easter, Good Friday and the Christmas days
they simply attend the services and then work
at various activities that seem necessary. On
the first Christmas day in 1951 on Nomuka
working Tongans were questioned and gave the
following explanation: "Sunday is the Lord's
day of rest, and Christmas is only the birthday
of His Son."

and are proud of the fact that they are good church-goers, and they
speak disdainfully of worldly and disbelieving whites with whom they
have become acquainted during the present decades, especially during
OOO the last World War (troops on Tongatapu). Although the younger

/256 cont./ The natives sang

533 chiefly to accompany dances (683)

534
461

683. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /? provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (hiva), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533
177

/257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs, except for an old taua'alo melody. (687)

[461]

687. taua'alo are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the lomepeau song sometimes still sung to the laka-laka dance is also of Tongan origin.

One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs.

533

Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)

[574]
[535]

688 See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[796]
[194]

But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)

689. Their singing voices (especially those of

241 level of cash income through local sale of produce. Many of the above farmers were those who expressed dissatisfaction with the land tenure system. Tracts of long-term idle land adjacent to leased intensively cultivated plots is a growing source of embitterment.

The typical 'api allotment is subdivided into several plots, at various stages of the bush fallow system. For example, the average farmer cultivates two or three plots, which usually differ in the age and crops being grown, while several plots are simultaneously in various stages of fallow. Thus, land at all stages of the agricultural cycle may be found in the typical allotment. Figure 1A illustrates a bush allotment of eight and one-quarter acres, indicating the variety of plantings and fallow. Figure 1B is typical of the smaller holdings in Ha'apai and western Tongatapu. The smaller fallow area and shorter fallow time are indicative of increased population pressure and the subsequent increased land use.

241 Labor requirements of an 'api vary greatly as to the
461 amount of cultivation and the crops being produced. Interview responses indicated extremes from five 8-hour work days per week, to as little as three hours per weekend. The average for cultivating farmers, however, is 3.75 hours per day, or less than one-half day. No particular routine was noted, the Tongan farmer usually laboring only upon impulse.

241 Although lack of land was a frequent explanation for the difficulty in increasing agricultural production, another prevalent

241 factor in Tongan society reduces the incentive for increased
241 production. Individuals who manage to significantly increase their
571 production of crops or agricultural profits are under social pres-
426 sure to supply loans and miscellaneous obligations to close rela-
tives and friends. This practice severely reduces the independence
of the farmer. Several informants stated that they would not
increase crop production because neighbors and relatives subse-
426 quently "borrow" all extra produce. Although lending is a tradition
556 which increases the social status of the lender, resentment toward
178 this social obligation is increasingly expressed among younger land-
holders, who place higher esteem on cash than tradition.

241 At present, the typical farmer appears to work his 'api an
461 average of 18 to 20 hours per week. The remaining time is occupied
[125] by a variety of additional activities. Although statistical evidence
of the duration of each activity was not collected, three activities
241 appeared to be dominant. Owing to the distribution of population
461 and the subsequent pattern of settlement, a farmer often spends
484 several hours per day traveling to and from his 'api. Travel
extremes from zero to 21 miles were reported by interviewees. Occa-
sionally, informants reported leasing land on nearby islands, which
necessitated travel overland, as well as by boat. However, an
average of 6.75 miles was determined to be the distance necessary
[494] for the typical farmer to travel to his 'api. Although the principal
islands of the Kingdom have bus transportation, the busses average
no more than 15 miles per hour, thereby consuming at least an hour
of travel per day for the average farmer. Frequently, walking for

91

241
461 Frequently, walking for
484 another hour follows the bus ride. Transport of crops from the 'api
494 usually involves greater lengths of time as the common method con-
[481] sists of a horse-drawn cart (Plate 9, p. 93).^A

226 Fishing is a second significant activity conducted away from
the 'api, although of less concern within the interior of Tongatapu
[461] and along those shores with poor sources or access. In Vava'u and
[262] Ha'apai, fishing often consumes several hours per day, and supplies
[438] not only family food needs, but also enough for sale in local markets.

461 A third major activity concerns church and social functions
within the local village or the nearest urban area. Many of these
activities are concentrated during the weekends, such as marketing
and major church functions. However, social activities during the
week require participation of several hours per week.

In addition to the above, an entire range of miscellaneous
labor must be considered, due to the low level of specialization of
461 labor in Tonga. Thus, to summarize, it is evident that potential
241 expansion of agricultural production in Tonga involves not only
issues of land tenure and management, but also individual incentive,
tradition and the amount of time devoted to agricultural activities.

During interviews conducted on all of the major Tongan
islands, lack of land was most frequently denoted to be the major
limitation upon agricultural expansion, while laziness of Tongan
241 farmers was the second most frequent response. The third most
412 frequent explanation concerned the lack of adequate agricultural
tools and machinery. An examination of farm equipment, either owned
or rented by the interviewees, indicated that most farmers possess
A Due to poor quality of original, plate has not
^ been marked for a Category--Analyst.]

241 the cultivation of cash crops. Coconut palms, being relatively
[245] independent of the agricultural planting cycle, are a logical choice
for farmers engaged in cash cropping in densely populated areas.

245 In addition to being the major cash crop export, the coco-
nut palm is also invaluable to the Tongan as a building material and
a source of food and drink. However, until land tenure is secure,
many farmers are reluctant to enter large scale copra production.

241 Interviewed farmers also expressed reluctance to mix the cultivation
245 of food crops and large scale palm growth, because the shade from
palms supposedly reduces the yield from food plants. Frequently,
farmers eliminate all palm growth from small, scattered portions of
their allotments, reserving these areas entirely for food crop pro-
duction.

245 The frequency with which households collect coconuts and pro-
461 duce copra varies considerably. Survey informants indicated col-
245 lections every week, to once per month. In copra production, the
coconuts are collected and usually transported to a central location,
frequently the area of residency on an allotment. Here the nuts are
split and placed in the sun to partially dry (Plate 11).^A Later,
the flesh is scooped out, dried thoroughly in the sun, and bagged

[374] for sale. Occasionally a crude kiln drying shed is used to dry the
flesh, in which the heat is supplied by a fire beneath the shed,

[592] fed by discarded coconut husks and shells (Plate 12).^B The produc-
[462] tion of copra usually involves the entire family, with men collect-
[85] ing and splitting the nuts, women extracting the flesh, and small

children guarding the sun-drying copra from dogs and pigs. The
A, B (Due to poor quality of originals, plates have
A A not been marked for a Category--Analyst.)

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 106]

369 factors have been major forces motivating the migration of rural
166 residents into Nuku'alofa. Employment opportunities are available
369 to some individuals who have friends or close relatives already
166 employed, an attraction to potential migrants. However, surveys of
464 migrated urban residents indicated that only two percent had moved
as a result of acquiring urban employment. In addition, cash income
earned by this same group from urban employment was only a small
proportion of total earnings. However, most agreed the possibilities
of increasing their cash income were greater in Nuku'alofa
than in rural agriculture, and that infrequent part-time employment
was preferable. Government-owned services and operations represent
the greatest source of urban employment, although church and privately
sponsored work (i.e., teaching, housekeeping, and miscellaneous
part-time labor) also exists.

369 A more significant factor, motivating migration to urban
166 areas, is rather vaguely defined as "urban attractiveness." In
the case of Nuku'alofa, the excitement and variety of town life is
[517] especially attractive to younger age groups. Social clubs, dances,
sporting events and other amusements, including the seemingly endless
opportunities for kava, make village life appear to be comparatively
dull to individuals confronted with daily agricultural and
[554] domestic chores. In addition, urban living is a symbol of prestige,
indicative of a higher living standard. Young men most frequently
migrate for these reasons although women are not to be excluded.

369 This has resulted in a large number of unemployed and underemployed
464 urban youth, characterized by young people loitering in the market
461 areas and in amusement facilities.